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# THE HIGHLANDERS

OF

# SCOTLAND.

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VOL. I.

THE

# HIGHLANDERS

OF

# SCOTLAND,

THEIR

## ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES;

WITH

A SKETCH OF THEIR

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,

AND

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE CLANS INTO WHICH THEY WERE DIVIDED, AND OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH EXISTED AMONG THEM.

BY WILLIAM F. SKENE, F.S.A. Scot.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON,

This Work,

WHICH IS PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST,

IS

(WITH THEIR PERMISSION)

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR

OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

# PREFACE.

"*Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire ennuie,*" say the French, and if this be a just criterion of national prosperity, it must be confessed that the Highlanders of Scotland have no mean claim to be considered as one of the happiest people in Europe. Just as this remark may be with regard to Highland history, it would not be easy to assign a reason for it, still less to account for the general neglect which the history of that people has experienced, in an age when the early annals of almost every nation have been examined, and their true origin and history determined, with a talent and success to which no other period can show a parallel.

The cause of this somewhat remarkable fact may, perhaps, be traced to the influence of that extraordinary prejudice against the Celtic race in general, and against the Scottish and Irish branches of that race in particular, which certainly biased the better judgment of our best historians, who appear to have regarded the Highlands with somewhat of the spirit of those who said of old, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth." But it is mainly to be attributed

to the neglect, by the indiscreet supporters of Highland fables, of that strictly critical accuracy, in point of evidence and of reasoning, so indispensable to the value of historical research; the want of which infallibly leads to the loose style of argument and vague assumption so remarkably characteristic of that class of writers, and tends unfortunately to draw down upon the subject itself no small share of that ridicule to which the authors were more justly liable. The prevailing error which appears to me to have misled almost all who have as yet written upon the subject, has been the gratuitous assumption, not only by those whose writings are directed against the claims of the Highlanders, but also by their numerous defenders, that the present Highlanders are the descendants of the ancient Scotti, who, in company with the Picti, so often ravaged the Roman provinces in Britain. Nor have either party deemed it necessary to bring either argument or authority in support of their assumption. The Scots, as will be shewn in the sequel, were unquestionably a colony issuing from Ireland in the sixth century; and thus, while the one party triumphantly asserts the Irish origin of the Highlanders, their defenders have hitherto directed their efforts to the fruitless attempt of proving that the Scots were the original inhabitants of the country.

The attention of the Author was directed to this subject by an advertisement of the Highland Society of London, making offer of a premium for the best

History of the Highland Clans; his Essay proved the successful one, and the Highland Society deemed his Work worthy of the attention of the public, and requested that it might be published. Since that period the Author has been enabled to make many important additions to the original Essay, and has considerably altered its plan and arrangement. In collecting the materials of the present Work, the Author has to acknowledge the very liberal assistance which he has received from many of his literary friends in Scotland; and he feels that it would be improper to allow this opportunity to escape without acknowledging the very great obligations which he has been laid under by Donald Gregory, Esq., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the valuable and important communications which he has at all times so liberally made to the Author; and also by Mr. T. G. Repp, for the able assistance which he has rendered to the Author in the earlier part of his enquiry.

In presenting this Work to the public it will be necessary to say a few words regarding the system of history developed in it. A glance at the Table of Contents will shew that that system is entirely new; that it is diametrically opposed to all the generally received opinions on the subject, and that it is in itself of a nature so startling, as to require a very rigid and attentive examination before it can be received. The Author had, from a very early period, been convinced that the present system was erro-

neous, and that there was in it some fundamental error, which prevented the elucidation of the truth. Accordingly, after a long and attentive examination of the early authorities in Scottish history, together with a thorough investigation of two new and most valuable sources,—viz., the Icelandic Sagas in their original language and the Irish Annals,—he came to the conclusion, that that fundamental error was the supposed descent of the Highlanders from the Dalriadic Scots, and that the Scottish conquest in the ninth century did not include the Highlands. Proceeding upon this basis, the system of history developed in the following pages naturally emerged; and in it will be found the first attempt to trace the Highlanders, and to prove their descent, step by step, from the Caledonians,—an attempt which the incontrovertible Irish origin of the Dalriadic Scots has hitherto rendered altogether unsuccessful. The Author is aware that to many this system may appear wild and visionary, but he feels confident that a perusal of the chain of reasoning contained in the first few chapters, will be sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced enquirer that the true origin of the Highlanders is therein ascertained, and that their descent from the Caledonians rests upon historic authority of no ordinary strength. The same remarks which apply generally to the origin of the Highlanders, are true also with regard to the Highland clans; the descent of each of these has been traced and proved from the most authentic docu-

ments, while the absurdity of the Irish origins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the Scandinavian dreams of later historians, have been shewn.

With these remarks, the Author leaves his Work to the judgment of the public, and he may conclude with the words of a celebrated foreign historian, "There can be no greater enjoyment to the inquisitive mind than to find light where he has hitherto found nothing but darkness. More than once I have experienced this agreeable sensation in the progress of the present investigation, and I may venture with the more confidence to deliver this Work from my hands to the reader, because happily I can safely assert, that much which formerly appeared to him only in doubtful and obscure gloom, will now be seen in the full and clear light of day."

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# PART I.

## THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

# THE

# HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND.

## CHAPTER I.

The original Colonization of Britain.—The Picts and Caledonians proved to be the same People.—The Dalriadic Scots an Irish Colony of the Sixth Century.

Colonization of Britain.

THE original colonization of Britain, as of most countries, is involved in considerable obscurity; but although this obscurity arises in some degree from the distance of time to which we must look back, and the scanty materials which have come down to us, yet much of the uncertainty which has hitherto invested the subject, and of the controversies to which that uncertainty has necessarily given rise, is to be attributed to the want of a proper discrimination of the authorities for the early history of Britain. It is not unusual to find, even in writers of the present day, authors of the third and of the thirteenth centuries quoted as of equal authority, and equal reliance apparently placed upon

their statements; while, on the other hand, we see others wholly neglect the authentic historians, and build their theories upon the monkish fables of the middle ages. The authorities upon which the genuine history of Scotland is principally grounded may, with a view to the reliance which we ought to place upon them, and their importance for the earlier history, be divided into three classes. Of these the first class consists of the Roman authors, who wrote while the Romans retained possession of the greater part of Britain; these excellent historians, from their antiquity, the attention and accuracy with which they were accustomed to examine the history and manners of their barbaric foes, and the fidelity of their representations, ought to be ranked as first in importance, and it is exclusively from them that the great leading facts in the early history of the country ought to be taken.

Authorities for the early history.

Roman authors.

In the second class we may place the early monkish writers, as Bede, Gildas, Nennius, Adomnan, &c. Much of the error into which former writers have been led, has arisen from an improper use of these authors; they should be consulted exclusively as contemporary historians,—whatever they assert as existing or occurring in their own time, or shortly before it, we may receive as true; but when we consider the perverted learning of that period, and the little information which they appear to have possessed of the traditions of the people

Monkish writers.

around them, we ought to reject their fables and fanciful origins, as altogether undeserving of credit.

Annalists. The last class consists of what may be termed the Annalists. These are partly native writers of Scotland, partly the Irish and Welsh annalists, and are of the greatest use for the more detailed history of the country. The native Annals consist of those generally termed the Latin Lists, viz. the Pictish Chronicle, Chronicles of St. Andrew's, Melrose, Sanctæ-crucis, and others, and also of the Albanic Duan, a Gaelic historical poem of the eleventh century. The Irish annals are those of Tighernac, also of the eleventh century, and by far the best and most authentic chronicle we have. The annals of Innisfallen, Buellan, and Ulster, works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[1]. The Welsh annals are principally the Triads, written, if we may judge from internal evidence, between the sixth and ninth centuries; and the annals of Carradoc of Nant Garvan, who lived in the thirteenth century. Besides these, much light is thrown upon

[1] Throughout this work reference is made only to the accurate versions of the Albanic Duan and the Irish Annals published by Dr. Charles O'Connor, little credit being due to the inaccurate transcript of Johnston, and still less to the dishonest version of John Pinkerton. Those parts of the Annals which relate to Scotland have been printed by me, with a literal translation, in the Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, edited by the Iona Club.

the history of Scotland during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, by the Norse Sagas[1].

Original colonization to be determined from the Roman authors only.

Proceeding upon the principle of this classification, it is plain, that in order to determine the original colonization of Scotland, and to establish the great leading facts of its early history, we must turn exclusively to the Roman authors; and we shall find that although the information contained in them is scanty, yet that when they are considered without reference to later and less trustworthy authorities, they afford data amply sufficient for this purpose. The earliest authentic notice of the British isles and of their inhabitants which we possess, appears to be the voyage of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, in the fifth century before the incarnation, as described by Festus Avienus; from that account it may be inferred that at that period the larger island was inhabited by a people called *Albiones*, while the Gens Hibernorum possessed the smaller island, to which they gave their name[2]. From this period we meet with

The oldest inhabitants were the Albiones.

[1] Reference is here made also to the *originals* of these very important historians, and the author must in like manner protest against the authority of Torfæus.

[2] "Ast hinc duobus in sacram—sic insulam
Dixere Prisci—solibus cursus rati est:
Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit,
Eamque late *gens Hibernorum* colit;
Propinqua rursus insula *Albionum* patet."

FESTUS AVIENUS DE ORIS MARITIMIS, v. 35.

little concerning these islands, except the occasional mention of their names, until the arms of Julius Cæsar added Britain to the already overgrown empire of the Romans[1]. When Cæsar landed upon that island its name had already changed from the more ancient appellation of *Albion* to that of *Britannia;* and although he calls the inhabitants indiscriminately Britanni, yet it appears from his account, that they consisted at that time of two races, strongly distinguished from each other by their manners, and the relative state of civilization to which they had advanced. The one race inhabited the interior of the country, and all tradition of their origin seemed to have been lost; while the other race, which inhabited the more maritime parts of the island, were acknowledged to have proceeded from Belgium. From this we may infer, that the inland people were principally the ancient *Albiones*, while the others were a new people, termed *Britanni*, who by the conquest of the island had imposed upon it their name[2].

The Britanni.

At the same period, too, it would seem that Ireland had received a new race of people, termed *Scotti*, as in the cosmography attributed to Æthicus, and said to have been drawn up by the

The Scotti.

[1] The oldest notice of the British isles is undoubtedly that contained in a Treatise of the World, generally attributed to Aristotle. In this treatise they are called Albion and Ierne, which appear to be their most ancient appellations.

[2] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, v. 12.

orders of Julius Cæsar, we find it mentioned that Ireland was inhabited by *Gentibus Scotorum*[1]; Sidonius Apollinaris also mentions the Scots as having been among the enemies of Cæsar[2]. That these Scots are to be distinguished from the more ancient Hiberni, is clear from the lives of St. Patrick, the most ancient notices perhaps which we have of the state of that island[3]. But even independently of that, we should be led to the same result by analogy, the name of Scotia having gradually superseded that of Hibernia, in the same manner as the name of Britannia had previously superseded that of Albion. It would thus appear, that in the time of Cæsar, each of the British isles had received a new race of inhabitants, the Britanni and the Scotti, in addition to the old possessors, the Albiones and the Hiberni.

The next author from whom we derive any information relative to the inhabitants of Britain is Tacitus, who, from the peculiar sources of information which he possessed, and his general credit as an historian, is the more worthy of attention[4].

[1] "Cœli solisque temperie magis utilis Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus colitur: Menavia insula æque ac Hibernia Scotorum gentibus habitatur."

[2] "Fuderit et quanquam *Scotum*."—Sidon. Apollinar. Car. VII. l. 90.

[3] See Innes's Critical Essay, Vol. II., for a clear demonstration of this fact.

[4] Tacitus in Vita Agricola, 11.

From the few remarks which he makes on the different inhabitants of Britain, it would appear that, in the time of Agricola, they were principally distinguished into three races; viz. the Britanni, the Silures, and the inhabitants of Caledonia. Of these, he remarks the resemblance between the Britanni and the inhabitants of Gaul, both in their outward appearance and in their language[1]; they seem therefore to have been the same people with Cæsar's Britanni, who inhabited the maritime parts of Britain; and they appear during the interval between these two writers to have pushed their conquests in some places even as far as the western sea, and to have obtained possession of the greater part of the island.

In the time of Agricola there were three races; Britanni, Silures, and Caledonii.

That the Silures and Caledonii were not of the same race, and could not both have been remnants of the Albiones or Britons, who inhabited the interior during the time of Cæsar, appears sufficiently plain from the very marked distinction which Tacitus draws between them, and from the different origin which he is consequently disposed to assign to them. But when we consider the fact, that the name of Albion or Albania was afterwards exclusively confined to the northern part

The Caledonii were the remains of the Albiones.

[1] Tacitus in Vita Agricola, 11.

"Proximi Gallis et similes sunt.
Sermo haud multum diversus."

of Britain, joined to the constant tradition recorded both by the Welsh and native writers, that its inhabitants were peculiarly entitled to the distinctive appellation of Albani or Albanich; it seems obvious that we must view the inhabitants of Caledonia, which certainly included the whole of the nations inhabiting to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde[1], as the sole remaining part of the *Albiones* or ancient inhabitants of the island.

The Silures probably a part of the Scotti.

The only conclusion to which we can come regarding the Silures is, that they were either a new people who had arrived during the interval between the periods when Cæsar and Tacitus wrote, or else that they were a part of the nation of the Scots, who made their appearance in these islands about or shortly after the time of Cæsar. Their appearance, situation, and the tradition of a Spanish origin, which they appear to have possessed in common with the Scots of Ireland, would lead us to adopt the latter supposition; but, as an enquiry into the origin of this tribe would be somewhat foreign to the object of the present work, and would lead to considerable digression, we shall

[1] This appears from the speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Galgacus, the Caledonian general, delivered before the battle of the Grampians. In which he distinctly states that no people lived to the north of them, and that they were the northernmost inhabitants of the island,—"sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa."—Tacit. Vit. Agr. 30.

proceed to the consideration of the subject more immediately connected with it, namely, the origin of the inhabitants of the northern part of Britain.

We have thus seen that the Caledonians, or inhabitants of the country extending to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, were the remains of the Albiones; and that, in the time of Tacitus, the only other inhabitants of Britain, besides the Silures, were the Britanni, a people who acknowledged a Gallic origin. The next author from whom we can derive any important information on the subject of their origin is Dio. Cassius who wrote about A. D. 235. He states that the barbaric Britons consisted of two great nations called Caledonii and Mæatæ [1], and as provincial Britain unquestionably extended at that time to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, both of these nations must have inhabited the country north of the wall of Antonine. It is equally clear from the words of Dio., that these two nations were but two divisions of the same race; and he adds, that the Mæatæ lay next to the wall and the Caledonii beyond them, and that to one or other of these two nations might be referred all the other tribes.

In the third century the unconquered Britons were divided into Mæatæ and Caledonii.

We can only consider them then as the same people who inhabited Caledonia in the days of Tacitus, and we thus see that no new people or race had arrived in North Britain down to the be-

[1] Dio. Cass. l. 76. c. 12.

ginning of the third century, but that it still continued to be inhabited by the same Caledonii who opposed the march of Agricola in the first century, and who, we may infer from the Roman authors, were a part of the ancient nation of the Albiones, the oldest inhabitants of the island. Of the internal state of the Caledonians during this period we know little; in the time of Agricola they appear to have consisted of a number of independent tribes, who, although they acknowledged a common origin, and were known by one national appellation, were in all probability engaged in frequent warfare among themselves, and were only united for the purpose of a general incursion into the territories of the Southern Britons. The invasion of the Romans appears to have produced the first general and permanent union among them. The different tribes of Caledonia assembled together, and with many solemnities formed themselves into a general confederacy; one of their chiefs was elected to lead them against the Romans; and Galgacus may thus with reason be called the first king of the Caledonians[1]. His authority, in all probability, only continued while the nation was at war, but the system once introduced, seems to have been followed out on after occasions, gradually assuming a more permanent character, until it at length appeared in the shape of the Pictish monarchy.

[1] Tacitus Vit. Agricol., c. 30.

A.D. 121. Caledonians consisted of thirteen tribes.

In the second century the Caledonians consisted of thirteen tribes, whose names and positions are fortunately preserved to us by the invaluable geographer Ptolemy. In the oldest editions of his work they appear as follows:—

| *Tribes.* | | *Districts.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Epidioi . . . . | Inhabiting | Kintyre, Knapdale, Argyll proper, and Lorn. |
| 2. Kreones . . . | ——— | Lochaber, Morvern, Moidart, Morer, Knodert, and Glenelg. |
| 3. Karnones . . | ——— | Wester Ross. |
| 4. Kairinoi . . . | ——— | Assint, Edderachylis, and Parish of Duriness. |
| 5. Kournaovioi . | ——— | Strathnaver and Kaithness. |
| 6. Kaledonioi . . | ——— | Badenoch, Stratherrick, Glengarry, Glenmorison, Glenurquhart, and the Aird, &c., Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Atholl. |
| 7. Kanteai . . . | ——— | Easter Ross. |
| 8. Lougoi . . . . | ——— | Parishes of Kildonnan, South Clyne, Golspie, Dornoch and Rogart in Sutherland. |
| 9. Mertai . . . . | ——— | Parishes of Criech and Lairg in Sutherland. |
| 10. Vakomagoi . . | ——— | The County of Elgin, Strathspey, Strathavon, Braemar, and Strathardle. |
| 11. Vernicomes . | ——— | Merns, Angus, and Fife. |
| 12. Taixaloi . . . | ——— | Buchan and Banffshire. |
| 13. Damnonioi . | ——— | Perthshire, except Atholl. |

In this state they may be supposed to have continued with little variation down to the end of the third century.

Hitherto the only people mentioned by the Roman authors, as inhabiting North Britain, have been the Mæatæ and Caledonii, and the Roman writers are after this period altogether silent for some time on this subject, but when they again commence to give us a few scattered notices of the inhabitants of Britain, we find a very remarkable change in their language. The formidable names of Caledonii and Mæatæ vanish, and in their place we find the enemies of the provincial Britons appearing under the appellations of *Picti*, *Scotti*, *Saxones*, and *Attacotti*[1]. The history of the Saxons is too well known to require any examination; their attacks upon the Romans and provincial Britons were merely piratical excursions, and they had no settlement in the island till long after this period.

Saxons.

Picti. From Dio's account, there can be no doubt that in his time there existed but one nation in the northern or unconquered part of Britain, which was divided into two great tribes of Mæatæ and Caledonii; the Picti must therefore either be their descendants or a new colony, who had arrived in the island after the time of Dio. Their antiquity in the country however is evident from Eumenius, the first author

[1] Amm. Mar. l. 26. c. 4.

who mentions the Picts; and from whom it appears, that they certainly existed in Britain as early as the days of Cæsar[1]; and their identity with the Caledonii and Mæatæ of Dio. rests upon authority equally strong; for besides the inference to be drawn from the mere fact of finding the Picti occupying the territories of the Caledonians at no very distant period after these Caledonians appear in independence and strength, and when there is no hint of their having been overthrown, or subjected to invasion by a foreign people, we have the distinct and positive testimony of Eumenius, who talks of "The Caledonians *and other Picts;*"[2] and of Ammianus Marcellinus, who informs us that the Picts were divided into two nations, the *Dicaledones* and the Vecturiones[3]. It appears then that the Picts consisted of two great nations, of which one is identified by Eumenius with the Caledonii; and as the Mæatæ were certainly of the same race, and inhabited the same territories with the other division of the Pictish nation, their identity cannot be doubted. We see, therefore, the Caledonii of Tacitus and Dio. presenting, under the name of Picti, the same twofold division of their nation, and continuing the same system of successful resistance and active incursion

[1] Soli Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus. Eumenius, paneg. Constantio.

[2] Eumenius, paneg. Constantin.

[3] Amm. Marc. l. 27. c. 8.

which had rendered them so formidable in the first two centuries.

We may therefore hold it established as an incontrovertible fact, that the Picts and Caledonians were the same people, appearing at different times under different appellations, and that they were consequently the sole remaining descendants of the Albiones, the most ancient inhabitants of the island[1].

Attacotti. Of the Attacotti, we know less. St. Jerome informs us, that they were a people inhabiting Britain[2]. They appear in independence, and engaged in company with the Picts and Scots in frequent incursions into the Roman province, during the years 364 and 368[3]. After these dates they are not mentioned again, although the Picts and Scots are stated to have ravaged the Roman province in the years 384, 396, and 398[3], until we find them in the early part of the fifth century as enrolled among the Roman troops[2]; and Orosius styles them certain barbarians, "qui quondam *in fœdus* recepti atque in militiam allecti." From these notices it is plain, that they inhabited some part of Britain, north

[1] As an additional proof of this, it will be afterwards shewn that the appellations of Caledonii and Picti were not acknowledged by themselves, but were imposed upon them by the Britons and Romans; and that their peculiar and national name was that of *Albanich*, manifestly the original of the classical name of *Albiones*.

[2] Jerom. Tom. II. p. 76.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin. passim.

of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and as there certainly existed in Dio's time no other nation in North Britain than the Picts or Caledonians, they must have settled there subsequent to his time. The conjecture of Pinkerton is therefore probably correct, that they had arrived from Ireland, and occupied that part of the west coast which afterwards became Dalriada.

Scotti. The only nation whose origin it now remains for us to investigate, is that of the *Scotti*. As they appear in hostility to the Romans after the date of the formation of the province of Valentia, they could not have been a part of the Britons; they must then either have owed their origin, as well as the Picts, to the Caledonians, or else they must have been a foreign people engaged only in a temporary league with them against their common enemy the Romans. The supposition of their having a common origin with the Picts, is rendered exceedingly improbable from the marked line of distinction which is drawn between them by Gildas, Bede, and Nennius; both in respect of their manners, their language, and their traditionary origin. With regard to their manners, Gildas is perfectly distinct, as he describes them to have been "moribus ex parte dissidentes."[1] Their language appears also to have been in some degree different. Bede in enumerating the various dialects into which the gospel

[1] Gildas, c. 15.

was translated, mentions the Pictish and Scottish as different dialects [1], in which Nennius also concurs. Now if the Picts and Scots were both branches of the Caledonians, who were certainly an undivided people in the third century, it is inconceivable that such a difference in language and manners could have existed between them in the fifth. As to the traditionary origin of the two nations, as contained in the monkish writers, although in general we ought to place no reliance whatever upon the accuracy of the origin assigned by them to any nation, yet wherever they assign the same origin to different nations, we may safely infer that there existed between them a resemblance in manners and language sufficiently strong to justify the assertion. And in the same way the argument applies, that wherever different origins are given by them to different nations, it is to be inferred that there was a considerable dissimilarity between them, and that no tradition of a common origin could have existed among them. These writers, however, agree in giving totally different origins to the Picts and Scots. For these reasons, then, we may conclude that the Scots could not have been descended of the Caledonians, but must have been merely a part of the Scots of Ireland, who were at that time in temporary connexion only with the Picts, but who afterwards, it would appear, obtained

Attacked the Roman Province from Ireland.

[1] Bede, b. 1. c. 1.

a permanent settlement among them. This conclusion is strongly corroborated by the language constantly used regarding them by Claudian, thus:—

> " Ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
> Edomuit, *Scotumque* vago mucrone, secutus
> Fregit *Hyperboreas* remis audacibus *undas*." [1]

The Picts mentioned in this passage it will be remarked are only subdued, while the Scots alone are followed across the Hyperborean waves, which can only apply to the Irish sea; because, if it applied to either of the Firths, there would be no reason for the distinction made between the Picts and Scots. Again he says:—

> " Maduerunt Saxone fuso
> Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
> Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne." [2]

And,—

> " Totam quum Scotus Iernen
> Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys." [3]

It has been said that Ierne here does not mean Ireland, but *Stratherne*,—the glaring improbability of this however must appear, when we consider, First,—That while Ireland was well known under that name, in no other instance do we find any part of Scotland appearing in the works of the Roman writers under any such appellation; even in Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland, which is so very

[1] Claudian. de III. cons. Honorii.
[2] Claudian. de IV. cons. Honorii.
[3] Claudian, l. 2. in prin. con Stilichonis.

minute, no such place appears. Secondly,—No tolerable reason can be shewn why Claudian should distinguish such a small portion of Scotland on this occasion. Thirdly,—It does not appear that Strathern formed at any time a part of the Scottish possessions; on the contrary, it appears to have been the very head quarters of the Picts. And lastly, in this passage of Claudian, the Scots are described as crossing Tethys in coming from Ierne to the Roman province; but Tethys, it will appear from the following passage of the same author, can only apply to the sea, and not to either of the Firths of Clyde or Forth.

> "Domito quod Saxoni Tethys
> Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto."[1]

The subjugation of the Saxon could only render the sea more safe, and therefore Tethys could not apply to a Firth in North Britain.

The testimony of Gildas is equally distinct upon this point, for he describes the Scots as coming "a circione," and the Picts "ab aquilone."[2] Now it appears from Vitruvius that circio corresponds pretty nearly to our north-west and by west, while aquilo is the same as our north-east, and consequently the Scots could not have come from North Britain, but from Ireland. In another passage, after describing an irruption of the Picts and Scots, he says "Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hyberni domum,

[1] Claudian, l. 1. v. 395. [2] Gildas, c. 11.

post non longum temporis reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt."[1] It is thus beyond a doubt that the Scots had no permanent settlement in Britain, as late as the early part of the fifth century, and that Ireland was the habitation of those Scots who joined the Picts in their attacks upon the provincial Britons.

They appear however from Adomnan and Bede to have been firmly established in the western part of Scotland in the days of St. Columba, and even as late as the time of Bede to have retained the tradition of their Irish origin, although like all Monkish traditions, an appellation for the leader of the colony has been formed out of their generic name of Dalriads. The accession of this colony must have taken place at some period between the time of Gildas and that of St. Columba, and that date has been fixed at the year 503, partly by the direct authority of Tighernac, Flann of Bute, and others, and partly by the calculation of the reigns of their kings, of whom several lists have been preserved.

Such is a simple statement of the leading facts of the early history of Scotland derived from the Roman authors; and a strict adherence to them as the best sources of our early history, and an accurate mode of reasoning, from the facts contained in them, have brought us to the following conclusions; viz.—that the Picts are the descendants of the ancient Caledonians; that these Picts or Caledonians remained the

[1] Gildas, c. 19.

only inhabitants of North Britain till the beginning of the sixth century; that a colony of Scots from Ireland effected a settlement in the island about that time, and that they had firmly established themselves there, and possessed considerable extent of territory in the time of St. Columba, or about sixty years later, and continued in the same state down to the time of Bede in the eighth century.

The great question therefore which we have now to determine is, to which of these two nations the Highlanders of Scotland owe their origin, and this is a question which must depend in a great measure upon the nature and effects of that revolution generally termed the Scottish conquest, which took place in the middle of the ninth century, and which united the various inhabitants of Scotland under the government of one monarch. But of this subject, we shall treat in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

The State of the Scottish Tribes in the year 731.—Their Territories.—Internal Condition.—Principles of Succession.—Government.

The nature and effects of the Scottish Conquest involved in obscurity.

THE Scottish conquest, (as it is generally termed,) in the ninth century, is certainly at the same time the most obscure, and the most important event in the early annals of Scotland. That some great revolution took place at that period, which had the effect of uniting the various independent tribes in Scotland under the rule of one monarch, cannot be doubted; but there are perhaps few points in Scottish history, the nature of which has been more misrepresented and more misunderstood than that important revolution; while no attempt whatever has been made to assign the peculiar causes which led to so remarkable an event, or to ascertain the effects which it produced upon the internal state and condition of the tribes of Scotland, and the extent of its influence in the country. Our earlier writers in general have attributed to Kenneth, the complete conquest and extermination of the whole Pictish nation; but although many attempts

were made by their followers to bring this account within the bounds of probability, an examination into the more genuine authorities for Scottish history, and the total silence of contemporary writers in other countries, (a silence unaccountable upon the supposition of a revolution of such magnitude having taken place,) soon shewed the absurdity of this fable, and led to various, although unsuccessful endeavours on the part of later historians to ascertain the true history of that period; some having even gone so far as to deny the truth of the story altogether, and to maintain that the Picts were the conquerors in the struggle, and that they had subjected the neighbouring Scots.

Unsatisfactory as the accounts given of this event in the old Scottish chronicles and the theories of the more modern writers are, we can nevertheless distinctly perceive the traces of some remarkable revolution in the state of the country, and in the relative position of the various tribes at that time inhabiting it; and we shall now endeavour, as shortly as possible, to ascertain the real character of this change, and the probable causes which led to it.

The principal events in the history of Scotland from the departure of the Romans to the middle of the eighth century, can be sufficiently discovered from the works of Gildas, Nennius, the Welsh bards, the Irish annals, and in particular from the venerable Bede. The most remarkable occurrences during this period were the arrival of the Scots from Ireland

in the year 503, and the conversion of the northern Picts to Christianity about sixty years later by the preaching of Columba; the rest of the history apparently consists entirely of the petty battles of the Picts with the Dalriads and among themselves, with occasional incursions of the Angli into the Pictish territories, none of which produced any lasting change. Bede however finishes his history in the year 731, and with that year commences a period of great obscurity and confusion, during which we have no certain guide until the middle of the ninth century, when we find the numerous tribes of Scotland united under the government of Kenneth. Before entering upon this enquiry, it will therefore be necessary for us to ascertain the exact situation in which these nations were placed at the time when Bede finishes his history, the relations which they bore to each other, and the peculiar laws which governed the succession of their monarchs.

Situation of the tribes of Scotland in A.D. 731.

Bede closes his history in the year 731 with a sketch of the state of the inhabitants of Britain, and his words relating to the nations at that time inhabiting the northern part of the island, are "*Pictorum* quoque natio tempore hoc et fœdus pacis cum gente habet *Anglorum* et catholicæ pacis et veritatis cum universali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. *Scoti qui Britanniam incolunt* suis contenti finibus, nihil contra gentem Anglorum insidiarum moliuntur aut fraudium. *Britones* quamvis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem

Anglorum et totius catholicæ ecclesiæ statutum Pascha, minus recte moribusque improbis impugnent, tamen et divina sibi et humana prorsus resistente virtute in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum."[1] From this passage it would appear that when Bede finished his history the inhabitants of North Britain consisted of four races, Picti, Angli, Scoti qui Britanniam incolunt, and Britones, and from the general tone of the passage, as well as from the phrase "suis contenti finibus," it would seem that these different nations had probably for some time previous possessed the same territories, and that their mutual boundaries had not experienced much alteration.

Territories of the Picts.

Southern boundary.

The southern boundary of the Picts, which was also the northern boundary of the Angli, appears from Bede to have been the Firth of Forth. For, in describing the result of the unsuccessful expedition of the Angli under Ecfrith, into the territory of the Picts, in the year 684, he has the following passage: "Ex quo tempore spes cœpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, et retro sublapsa referri. Nam et *Picti terram possessionis suæ quam tenuerunt Angli* et Scoti qui erant in Britannia et Britonum quoque pars nonnulla libertatem receperunt, *quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta et sex.*"[2] Now the southern boundary of the Picts was at that time the Firth of Forth, for he adds immediately after, that

[1] Bede, b. 5. c. ult.

[2] Bede, b. 4. c. 26.

the monastery of Abercorn was "in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat;" and his expression "quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter *quadraginta et sex*," shews that no change had taken place, but that it had continued to be the southern boundary of the Picts till the year 731, which is just *forty-six* years after the event he was narrating.

Eastern and Northern boundary.

The German ocean, and the Pentland Firth, were at that time the eastern and northern boundaries of the Picts. The Welsh Triads describe them as extending along the sea of Lochlin, or the German ocean. Adomnan mentions Lochness and the River Ness as being "in Provincia Pictorum," near which also he places the palace of the Pictish king converted by St. Columba. That they possessed the extreme north of Britain is also clear from Nennius, who in describing Britain says, "Tertia insula sita est in extremo limite orbis Britanniæ *ultra Pictos* et vocatur Orcania insula;"[1] and that they still possessed these territories as late as the eighth century is proved from the life of St. Findan, written in the ninth century, where the author relates that the saint was carried away captive from Ireland by the Norwegian pirates in the end of the eighth century, and adds "ad quasdam venire insulas juxta Pictorum gentem quas Orcades vocant."[2]

[1] Nennius, c. 2.

[2] Goldasti Aleman. rerum Script. Vita Findani, p. 318.

Western boundary.

The western boundary of the Picts appears at all times to have been, partly a ridge of hills, termed Drumalban, which separated them from the Scots, as the southern part of the boundary, and as the northern part the sea from the Linne Loch to Cape Wrath. Thus the Scottish chronicles invariably mention that Fergus the First, King of the Scots, ruled over the districts extending from *Drumalban* to Innisgall, or the Hebrides. Adomnan, who wrote in the beginning of the seventh century, mentions the Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniæ "quos utrosque dorsi montes Britannici disterminant;" and in talking of the Picts, he invariably describes them as being "ultra dorsum Britanniæ." The phrase dorsum Britanniæ used by him is plainly a mere Latin translation of the Gaelic word Drumalban.

Drumalban.

Tighernac implies that the same mountain-ridge was their mutual boundary in the year 717, in which year he mentions the expulsion of the Monks of Iona by King Nectan, "trans dorsum Britanniæ." The Chronicon Rythmicum mentions the Scots as having inhabited "ultra Drumalban" till the reign of Kenneth. It thus appears that Drumalban, or the dorsum Britanniæ was the invariable boundary of the Picts and Scots, south of the Linne Loch, from the year 503 down to the eighth century. There is no range of hills now bearing this name, but we find it frequently mentioned in older writers. The earliest description of Scotland which contains any allusion

to its mountain ranges is entitled "De situ Albaniæ quæ in se figuram hominis habet," and is supposed to have been written by Giraldus Cambrensis, about the year 1180. This work describes Scotland (which name at that period was applied only to the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde) as resembling in form that of a man. The head of the figure lay in Arregathel, the mountains of which he says resemble the head and neck of a man; the body consisted of that chain which is called Mound, and which he describes as reaching from the western sea to the eastern; the arms were those mountains "qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregaithel;" the legs, the two rivers Tay and Spey. After this description he adds, "inter crura hujus hominis sunt Enegus et Mœrne citra montem, et ultra montem aliæ terræ inter Spe et montem." From this description it would seem that he considered that there were but two remarkable chains in Scotland, "mons qui Mound vocatur," and "montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregaithel." The locality of the first of these chains is perfectly distinct from his description, for he tells us that part of it formed the northern boundary of "Enegus et Mœrne," a range which to the present day bears the name of "The Mounth." The other part extended to the western sea, and must therefore be the western part of the same chain which divides the county of Inverness from the counties of Perth and Argyll, and which is now termed Drumuachdar. The other chain, viz. the

"montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregaithel," are described as forming the arms of the figure, and must therefore have consisted of two ridges, the one branching from the Mounth, on the south, and the other on the north. As it appears, however, in describing the seven parts into which Scotland was of old divided, that Athol is named as one of them, it is plain that the western boundary of the southern part of Argyll was at that time the same as it is now, and therefore the southern branch of the "montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Aregaithel" must be the same with that chain of hills which runs from Benauler on the north-west corner of Perthshire to the head of Loch Long, and which to this day separates the county of Argyll from the district of Atholl and the counties of Perth and Dumbarton. But this very chain is called by the same author Bruinalban, for in afterwards describing these seven parts of Scotland, of which he had formerly given the names, (though with some variation,) he mentions that division which corresponds with Atholl and Goŭerin, as extending "a Spe usque ad Montem Bruinalban." The Bruinalban of this writer appears, from the following circumstances, to have been synonymous with the Drumalban of others; for while Giraldus concludes his description with the words "Fergus filius Erc ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albaniæ a monte *Bruinalban* usque ad mare Hiberniæ et ad Inche Gall,"[1]

[1] Innes, App. No. 1.

the same passage is found in other chronicles in the following words: Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albaniæ; *i. e.*, a monte *Drumalban* usque ad mare Hiberniæ et ad Inche Gall;"[1] and "Fergus filius Erth primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra *Drumalban* usque Sluaghmuner et ad Inche Gall."[2]

The name of Drumalban was known even at a much later period than this, for it occurs in the Regiam Magistatem; and also in the history of the Bishops of Dunkeld, in both of which it appears as certainly applied to the same chain. The passage in the Regiam Magistatem as translated by Sir John Skene is as follows—"2. And gif he quha is accused of the cattell, or anie other thing thifteously stolen or reft, alledges anie man for his warant dwelling betwixt Forth and *Drumalbane*, he quha is challenged sall have fifteen days to produce his warant before the sheref; whilk warant dwells within the said bounds.—3. And gif anie dwell beyond thir places or bounds in Murray, Ross, Caithness, Argyll, or in Kintyre, he sall have all the fifteen days, and also ane moneth to bring and produce all his warants."

He thus divides Scotland, which is afterwards defined as "the partes of the realme benorth the water of Forth" into two parts, the one extending from the Forth to Drumalbane, and the other lying beyond "thir bounds;" and containing Murray, Ross, Caithness, and Argyll. His Drumalbane, therefore,

[1] Innes, App. No. 4. [2] Chron. San. Andreæ.

can refer only to that chain of hills which forms the present eastern boundary of Argyllshire. The history of the Bishops of Dunkeld evidently places Drumalbane in the same place, for Atholl and Drumalbane are mentioned as forming one of the decanatu of that bishopric. Since, then, the name of Drumalbane existed, and was known as applied to a particular range of hills at so late a period, we may conclude with safety, that the descriptions of it given by Buchannan, Monypenny and others, applied to a range of hills well known at the time under that name, and were not merely speculations as to the locality of a name which had ceased to be used. The great distinguishing feature applied to Drumalbane by these authorities is, that it divides the rivers flowing into the western sea from those flowing into the eastern,—a peculiarity which belongs only to a long range of hills commencing at Loch Long, and running up the centre of the island until it is lost among the mountains of Caithness, and of which that chain already alluded to as separating the counties of Perth and Argyll forms the southern part. As an additional corroboration of this, Buchanan mentions that the River Earn takes its rise from it, and that in fact it was merely the highest part of Braedalbane.

The southern part of the western boundary of the Picts was therefore evidently the same with the present western boundary of Perthshire and Invernessshire. The remaining and northern part of their western boundary appears to have been the sea from

the Linne Loch to Cape Wrath, and this is a part of the boundary which it is of considerable importance for us to determine, as it involves the question of the possession of those districts which extend from Caithness to the Linne Loch, and comprise the western parts of the counties of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, and the northern part of the county of Argyll.

From all the notices which I have been able to collect, it appears that these districts, *at all times*, belonged to the Picts. In the first place it may be inferred from the ancient chronicles, that Dalriada did not originally extend beyond the Linne Loch, for they divide Dalriada among the three brothers who are said to have conducted the Scots from Ireland. The eldest obtained Lorn; the second Argyll Proper, and Kintyre; while the youngest obtained Isla. And this division is fully corroborated by the Irish Annalists, who mention the descendants of these brothers frequently, and always in the same districts as they are placed by the Scottish Chronicles. In the second place, independently even of this argument, we have the direct testimony of Bede, that these districts were possessed by the Picts. from the time of St. Columba to the year 731, when he finishes his history. He mentions that Oswald, the King of the Angli of Northumberland wishing to Christianize his subjects, sent to the Scots requesting them to supply him with a Monk for that purpose; and that in consequence of this request, Ai-

dan, a monk of the monastery of Hy or Iona, left that island and went to him. After which, he adds the following passage—"Quæ videlicet insula ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione *Pictorum* qui *illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt* jamdudum Monachis Scotorum tradita, eo quod illis predicantibus fidem Christi perceperunt."[1] Thus shewing not only that Iona was in the Pictish territories in the days of St. Columba, but that they actually possessed and inhabited the neighbouring districts of Britain in his own time, that is, in the eighth century. A testimony so direct and positive as this to the existence of a fact in his own lifetime, and at the very time he is writing, it is impossible by any reasoning or criticism to overcome. But Bede is not the only one who asserts this fact; Walafred Strabo, in his life of St. Blaithmac, asserts the same, although at a period some years later. He opens his poem with these words:—

> "Insula *Pictorum* quædam monstratur *in oris*
> Fluctivago suspensa salo cognomine *Eo*."

But if the Picts thus possessed the districts extending to the western sea opposite Iona, and since we have distinct evidence of their inhabiting the northern shore of Scotland, it would seem incredible to suppose that they did not also possess the intervening districts. We can hardly imagine that the Scottish nation were thus as it were divided into

[1] Bede, b. 3. c. 3.

two by the Pictish tribes, or that a small portion of them could exist unmolested in the very heart of their powerful enemies, and completely cut off from the rest of the Scots in Britain, as well as from the Irish. We must therefore conclude, that the Picts inhabited the whole of the districts lying to the north of the Linne Loch, a circumstance corroborated by the language of Bede, who mentions the Picts in general terms as inhabiting the "*Septentrionales plagas Britanniæ.*"

We have thus shewn by an incontrovertible chain of authorities, that in the year 731, the period at which Bede closes his history, the territories of the Pictish nation consisted of the present counties of Kinross, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the northern part of Argyll; in fact, the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of Southern Argyll.

Territory of the Dalriads.

The Firth of Clyde is universally allowed to have been the boundary which separated the Dalriads from the Strathclyde Britons, and consequently it follows that *Dalriada*, or the territory of the Scots in Britain, *must have been confined to South Argyll*, or that part of the county lying to the south of Linne Loch; and the Scots appear to have maintained their possession of a territory so inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Picts, partly by the strong natural boundaries and impervious nature of the country itself, and

partly by the close connexion which they at all times preserved with the Irish. We shall now proceed, in pursuance of our plan, to investigate shortly the internal state and strength of these nations at the same period.

Internal condition of the tribes.

When the Picts first appear under that appellation upon the stage of history, and when by the frequency of their incursions into the Roman provinces in Britain they attracted the attention of the Roman writers, they are described by them as having been divided into two great nations, *Dicaledones*, and *Vecturiones*. The origin of this division cannot now be traced, but as it apparently did not exist at the time when Ptolemy wrote his geography, it must have owed its origin to circumstances occurring subsequent to that period. In whatever manner, however, it may have originated, this twofold division of the Pictish nation appears to have subsisted at least down to the eighth century. We trace it in Bede as existing in full force in the time of St. Columba, when he mentions that Columba came over "predicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus Montium jugis ab Australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ. Namque ipsi Australes Picti qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes multo ante tempore (ut perhibent) relicto errore idolatriæ fidem veritatis acceperant."[1]

Picts divided into two nations.

[1] Bede, b. 3. c. 4.

The northern Picts mentioned by Bede, in all probability correspond with the Dicaledones of the Roman authors, for the Dicaledones, from their name, apparently extended along the Deucaledonian or Northern Sea. This distinction of the Pictish nation into the two great tribes of the northern Picts or Dicaledones and southern Picts, or Vecturiones, took its origin probably from incidental circumstances, and was afterwards perpetuated and increased by the difference of religion between them during the period from the conversion of the southern Picts by Ninian, and that of the northern Picts by St. Columba, as well as by the superior progress in civilization, which the prior conversion of the southern Picts would naturally give rise to. The same twofold division of the Picts can be traced subsequent to the time of St. Columba in Tighernac and the other Irish annalists. In Tighernac, we find the Picts sometimes termed Picti, at other times Cruithne and Piccardach: but although the last two are occasionally called Picti, yet we find a marked distinction at all times drawn between them, and occasionally we find them even having kings independent of each other. As an instance, in the year 731, Tighernac mentions a battle "between Brude, the son of Angus, and Talorcan, the son of Congusa. Brude conquers, but Talorcan escapes;" and in 734, we find it mentioned, that Talorcan, the son of Congusa, was taken by his own brother, and given over by him *into the hands of the* PICCARDACH,

thus making a complete distinction between the *Piccardach* and the other Picts, of whom Talorcan Mac Congusa was one. Again in 729, Tighernac calls Angus, the father of Brude above-mentioned, "Ri na Piccardach," or King of the Piccardach, while, at that time, Drust was king of the Picts, and Angus did not attain the throne of the Picts till the year 731. We may also remark, that whenever Tighernac has the word Piccardach, the annals of Ulster use the word Pictores in Latin, instead of Picti, the name usually applied by them to the Picts. These words Piccardach and Pictores have generally been thought synonymous with Picti, and a mere error of the transcriber, and they have accordingly been so translated by O'Connor in his edition of these annals; but when we remark the uniformity with which these appellations occur in the two annalists, and with which they are distinguished from the rest of the Picts, and the confusion which such an idea must necessarily introduce both in the chronology and in the succession of the Pictish monarchs, it is impossible to suppose that they are the mere casual blunders of a transcriber.

The similarity of name, and other causes connected with their kings, which we shall afterwards mention, plainly point out the Piccardach of Tighernac to be the same with the Vecturiones of the Romans, and the southern Picts of Bede, and consequently the name of Cruithne, although no doubt occasionally applied to all the Picts, would in its

more restricted sense belong to the Dicaledones or northern Picts.

Smaller tribes of the Picts.

Besides this great division of the Pictish nation into the northern and southern Picts, they were also divided into a number of smaller tribes, whose union together in a sort of permanent confederacy formed the two larger nations. The expressions of Tacitus shew, that when the Romans first appeared in Caledonia, it was inhabited by a number of "Civitates" apparently independent of each other, and the immediate result of the Roman invasion was the union of these tribes for the first time into a strong confederacy, and the election of Galgacus as a general to lead them to battle. In the second century, we again find them divided into a number of small tribes, whose names and situations are given us by Ptolemy. Shortly after this time, the great division into Vecturiones and Dicaledones took place, but that division did not, it would seem, make any change in the constitution of the Pictish nation as a confederacy of small tribes, or even produce a more close connexion between them.

From this period, the existence of the smaller tribes which composed the Pictish nations, can be sufficiently traced in Bede and the Irish annalists. Thus Bede appears to allude to these tribes under the appellation of "Provinciæ," when, on one occasion, he mentions the "Universas *Provincias* Pictorum," and in another, the "*Provinciis* Septentrionalium Pictorum."

In the following passages of Tighernac and the annals of Ulster, particular tribes of the Picts also appear to be mentioned:

A.D. 666. Eochaigh Iarlaithe Ri *Cruithne Midhi* mortuus est.
—— 668. Navigatio filiorum Gartnaidh ad Hiberniam cum *plebe Scith.*
—— 670. Venit *gens Gartnaidh* de Hibernia.
—— 739. Talorcan mac Drostan Rex *Athfotla.*
—— 752. Cath a Sreith in *terra Circi.*

Dalriads divided into three tribes.

The territories of the Dalriads, as we have already seen, consisted of the southern half of Argyllshire and the Island of Isla, and they seem at all times to have been divided into no more than three tribes, namely, the Genus Loarn, Genus Comgal, and Genus Gabran. The districts inhabited by these tribes can also be pretty nearly ascertained from these annals. The name points out the district of Lorn as the possession of the Genus Loran. Argyll and Kintyre belonged to the Genus Gabran, for Duncan Begg, who is mentioned by Tighernac in 719 as leading that tribe, is called by him in 721 Rincina tire, or King of Kintyre. While the present district of Cowall, which is in old MSS. always termed Comgaill, points itself out as the seat of the Genus Comgaill. These tribes of the Dalriads, however, must not be viewed in the same light as the Pictish tribes, because the tribes of the Picts, although they possessed a common origin, yet had been for a long course of time separated from each other; they possessed independent chiefs of their

own, and were connected together only by the necessity of having a common head for the sake of their mutual safety. The Dalriadic tribes, on the contrary, had a much closer connexion; they formed but one nation, had sprung from the original stock within a very few generations, and were, therefore, united together by the ties of affinity and relationship as well as those of common origin and of policy.

Rules of succession among the tribes.

The only point which now remains for us to examine before we can proceed to determine the causes which led to the union of all these nations, under the rule of Kenneth Mac Alpin, are the principles which regulated the succession to the throne among them.

Pictish succession.

On examining the line of Pictish kings, as contained in our ancient chronicles, we cannot fail to observe one great peculiarity, namely, that hereditary succession to the throne, appears to have been wholly unknown to them even so late as the ninth century. We occasionally find a king succeeded by his brother, but in no instance by his son; and in general, each king appears to be totally unconnected with his predecessor. But that some rule of succession existed among them is apparent from the testimony of Bede, who states, that the Picts on their first landing agreed, "ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fœminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent," and adds, "*quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.*" From this passage of Bede we may

infer, first, that the Picts elected their monarchs; and, secondly, that the election was not unlimited in its range, but was confined to some specific class of individuals, otherwise it could not come into doubt; and thirdly, that when there did exist a doubt as to the proper object of the election, they chose that person most nearly related to the former king by the female line.

Now there appears from Adomnan to have existed among the Picts a division of the people into *Nobiles* and *Plebeii*[1], and the account given by Tacitus of the election of Galgacus, plainly indicates that it was to the Nobile genus alone that this privilege of being chosen to fill the Pictish throne belonged[2]. We have already seen that besides the great twofold division of the Picts into Dicaledones and Vecturiones, they also at all times consisted of a number of small tribes; we have also remarked that it appears from Tacitus and from the notices of these tribes formerly given from Tighernac, that they were originally independent of each other, and that they possessed chiefs of their own to whom alone they owed obedience, although they were frequently led by considerations of mutual safety to unite under a

[1] Quendam de *Nobili* Pictorum *genere*. Adom. b. 2. c. 24. Illo in tempore quo Sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota *plebeius* familia. Adom. b. 2. c. 33.

[2] Inter plures *duces* virtute et genere præstans nomine Galgacus.—Tacit. Vita Agric.

common head. When we consider these facts, it must appear evident that it was these chiefs alone who could be elected kings of the Picts, for it cannot for a moment be supposed that if the whole nation was divided into tribes subject respectively to the authority of their chiefs, that they would suffer any one of inferior rank to themselves to fill the Pictish throne. This view is confirmed by the expression of Tacitus with regard to Galgacus, that he was "inter *plures duces* virtute et genere præstans," and still more strongly by the following passages of Tighernac.

A.D. 713. *Tolarg Mac Drostan* ligatus apud *fratrem* suum *Nectan regem.*

—— 739. *Tolarcan Mac Drostan*, REX ATFOTLA a bathadh la Aengus (drowned by Angus).

Thus Tolarg Mac Drostan, the brother of Nectan, the king of the Picts, appears after his brother's death, and during the reign of Angus, as king of Athol, and consequently Nectan must have been chief of Athol before he became king of the Picts. What the peculiar rule was which regulated the election of these chiefs to the Pictish throne, and on what occasions that rule failed so as to bring the affair "in dubium," it is impossible now to determine; but from the authorities which we have mentioned we may conclude, first, that the privilege of being elected monarch of the Picts, was confined exclusively to the hereditary chiefs of the different tribes into which that nation was divided, and, secondly,

that whenever that election was involved in doubt, the chief most nearly related to the last king by the female line was chosen.

Such a mode of succession as this, however, was not calculated to last; each chief who in this manner obtained the Pictish throne, would endeavour to perpetuate the succession in his own family, and the power and talent of some chief would at length enable him to effect this object and to change the rule of election into that of hereditary succession. This object appears in reality to have been finally accomplished by Constantin the son of Fergus, who ascended the Pictish throne towards the end of the eighth century, and in whose family the monarchy remained for some time.

Such then being the principles which regulated the succession to the Pictish throne, it may be well to enquire whether the same rule of election applied to the chiefs of the different tribes as well as to the monarch of the whole nation. The fact of the regal succession of the Picts being so peculiar does not in itself by any means lead to the inference that the same principles must have regulated the succession of the chiefs, for it is plain that this peculiarity assumed its form, not from the general principles of succession having always been so, but from the fact of the Picts having been rather an association of small and independent tribes united only by similarity of origin and language, and for purposes of mutual safety, than one compact nation. Conse-

quently no argument drawn from the nature of the succession to an office of no distant origin, and one produced by adventitious circumstances, can affect the question as to the nature of succession in general, which must have existed from the beginning, and which it is scarcely possible that circumstances can alter. Whatever was the nature of the succession among the chiefs, we may infer with great probability that when one of these chiefs succeeded in perpetuating the succession to the throne in his own tribe, the mode of succession introduced by him must have been that previously existing in his own tribe. This was effected for the first time by Constantin who commenced his reign anno 791. He was succeeded by his brother Angus. Angus was succeeded by Drust the son of Constantin, and Drust by Uen the son of Angus. We see here, that though this was strictly a male succession, yet that in several points it differs from our ordinary rules of male succession. Thus it seems to have been a fixed rule among the Picts that brothers in all cases succeeded before sons; this is observable in the catalogues of the Pictish kings, and also in the only instance we possess of succession to the government of a tribe when Nectan is succeeded in Atholl by his brother, Talorg. Secondly, after all the brothers had succeeded, the children of the elder brother were called to the succession; and, thirdly, as in the case before us, in their failure the sons of the second brother succeeded, and so forth.

Among the Dalriads the rules of succession to the government of the different tribes appear to have been very much the same; this is evident upon referring to the genealogies of the Dalriadic kings, and it would be needless to multiply examples. With regard to the succession to the command of the Dalriadic nation, that appears originally to have been governed by the same rule as that of the single tribes, and it afterwards became so frequently the subject of contention, that in general the most powerful at the time obtained the supremacy.

Such then is a general view of these nations in the year 731. The Picts, we have seen, were by far the most powerful of the different nations inhabiting North Britain; they possessed the whole of Scotland proper, or Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the southern part of Argyllshire which was occupied by the Dalriads; although divided into numerous tribes, they were united under the rule of one monarch, and while part of the nation had made considerable progress in civilization, and therefore may be supposed less inured to warfare, the other part possessed all the hardihood and constitutional bravery of a mountain people. The Dalriads, on the contrary, were of far less power; they occupied a small and mountainous district, and apparently owed their existence in the heart of the Pictish tribes to the strength of their natural barriers, the poverty of their country, and their alliance with Ireland, and perhaps also to the

policy with which they took advantage of the jealousies and rivalry between the two great nations of the Picts.

In the ninth century we find the state of Scotland very different; the whole country was then united under the government of one monarch, hereditary succession was firmly established, the once formidable name of Picti gradually disappearing, and the name of Scotia and Scotti, formerly confined to so small a portion of the island, rapidly spreading over the whole country. It must unquestionably have been a series of events of no small importance which could have given rise to a revolution so remarkable.

## CHAPTER III.

The Scottish Conquest.—Its effects did not extend to the Northern Picts, but were confined exclusively to the Southern Picts, or Picts inhabiting the Lowlands.—The Northern Picts were altogether unaffected by that Conquest, and remained in some degree independent of the Scottish dynasty, which then began to rule over the greater part of Scotland.

HAVING now examined, at some length, the internal state and constitution of the different tribes inhabiting Scotland in the year 731, and ascertained their relative position, we shall be better enabled to determine the nature and extent of the singular revolution which took place in the ninth century. In doing this we are unfortunately deprived of the usual mode of ascertaining an historical point, as the silence of the best authorities for the history of this period, and the fables of the other historians, have left us no distinct authority for the nature of the event. It is still possible, however, in a point of this nature, to make a considerable approximation to the truth, by reasoning as well from the natural consequences of the events which we know to have happened previously to the

No distinct authority regarding the Scottish conquest.

revolution as from the condition of the country after it. Either of these modes of reasoning in themselves would afford a strong presumption that the conclusion to which we are brought by them, was probably the true one, but if the result of both accurately coincides, we are then warranted in concluding that we have made the nearest approximation to the truth, which it is possible to attain regarding the nature of a revolution occurring at so very distant a period.

Can only be ascertained by two modes of reasoning.

First, from the natural consequences of previous events.

In the first place, then, we shall ascertain the principal events of the history of Scotland, between the year 731 and that in which the Scottish conquest is said to have taken place, and by arguing from the effects likely to have resulted from them, form a conclusion as to what the nature of that revolution must have been. The record of these events is principally to be found in the Irish Annals.

A.D. 731. Reign of Angus, king of the Picts.

In the year 731, Angus Mac Fergus, as he is styled by the Annalists, commenced a reign of thirty years over the Pictish nation. By a continued course of victory, and the gradual subjugation of every opponent, he had in the year 729 raised himself to the command of the *Piccardach* or southern Picts, to which division of the nation he belonged; and finally, in the year 731, by the conquest of Talorgan Mac Congusa his last opponent, he obtained the throne of the whole Pictish nation. From the opposition which Angus

His conquests.

met with, and from the number of opponents with whom he had to contend, it would seem that originally he possessed but a doubtful title to the throne; and that he owed his success rather to his own power and talents than to the support of any of the other Pictish chiefs. After he had in the year 729 overcome all opposition among the southern Picts, his efforts were directed entirely against the *Cruithne* or northern Picts; and it would appear from the constant succession of attacks, to which he was subjected during his reign from that nation, that they strenuously opposed his right to the throne. Angus at length succeeded in subduing their opposition, and it is quite clear, from the Irish Annalists, that the immediate result of his success and rapidly increasing power was, as might be expected from the character of the Celts, a league between the principal tribes of the northern Picts and the Dalriads or Scots of Argyll, who were ever ready for war with their Pictish enemies.

Produced a league between the northern Picts and Dalriads.

When Angus Mac Fergus commenced his reign over the Picts, Eocha, the son of Eochaigh of the line of Gabran, ruled over the Dalriads. On his death in 733, the line of Loarn obtained the superiority in Dalriada in the person of Muredach, the son of Aincellach, and it was immediately on the commencement of his reign that this league appears to have been formed, for in the same year, Dungal, the son of Selvach, and consequently his cousin, made a sudden descent upon

the monastery of Tory Island, surprised Brude, the son of Angus, the Pictish king, who was there at the time, and in defiance of the monasterial privileges carried him off. This act of treachery was revenged in the following year by Angus, who undertook an expedition into the Dalriadic territories. When on his march for that purpose, Talorcan Mac Congusa, by whose conquest Angus had obtained the Pictish throne, was delivered up to him by his own brother, and was immediately drowned. Angus then penetrated into the district of Lorn, where he was attacked near the foot of Dunolly by Talorcan Mac Drusten, the king of Atholl. Talorcan however was defeated and taken prisoner, and some years afterwards shared the same fate with Talorcan Mac Congusa. Angus then returned to Dunleitfin, a fort upon the banks of the river Leven, which he destroyed, and Dungal, being wounded in its defence, was obliged to fly to Ireland from his power. Angus thus, by the same vigour and success which had marked his previous career, crushed this formidable union.

Defeat of northern Picts and Dalriads.

Two years after this, Dungal again returned to Scotland, having, in all probability, received assistance from Ireland, and Angus once more made preparations for invading Dalriada. His formidable army was divided into two parts; with the one he himself laid waste the whole of Dalriada, burnt the fort of Dŭnadd, carried off an immense booty, and cast the two sons of Selvac, Dungal and Feradach, into

chains. In the meantime, his brother, Talorcan, opposed Muredach, the king of Dalriada, with the other division of the army, and a battle was fought between them on the banks of the Linne Loch, in which Talorcan was victorious, and Muredach was obliged to fly.

Whether the northern Picts were engaged in this second attempt, it is impossible to determine, but Angus seems to have firmly established his power by the event, and to have, for the time, completely crushed the power of the Dalriads [1].

A.D. 736. Conquest of Dalriada.

With this year commences a very remarkable difference between the various chronicles of the Dalriadic kings. These chronicles consist of what are generally termed the Latin Lists or Chronicles of several of the Scottish monasteries written in the twelfth century; and of the Albanic Duan, a work composed in the year 1050, and consequently the oldest and best authority for the list of their kings. These various lists agree in general down to the flight of Muredach, and whenever there

[1] For this short detail of the events which occurred subsequent to 731, the reader is referred to the accurate copies of Tighernac and the Annals of Ulster, printed by O'Connor, in which the authorities for the various events here stated will be found under the different years in which they are said to have occurred. The author cannot resist calling the attention of the reader to the valuable addition which an examination of these important Annals *in the original* makes to the history of this period.

is any discrepancy between them, the Albanic Duan is invariably supported by Tighernac, and the Ulster Annals. After Muredach, however, they differ altogether, and the two lists are as follows.

| Albanic Duan. | Years. | Latin Lists. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Muredh* | 3 | *Muredach* | 3 |
| Aodh na Ardflaith | 30 | Ewen | 5 |
| Domnall | 24 | Mŭredach | 3 |
| Conaill | 2 | Ewen | 3 |
| Conaill | 4 | Hedalbus | 30 |
| Constantin | 9 | Fergus | 3 |
| Aongus | 9 | Selvad | 21 |
| Aodha | 4 | | |
| *Eoganan* | 13 | *Eogan* | 30 |
| *Dungal* | 7 | *Dŭngal* | 7 |
| *Alpin* | 4 | *Alpin* | 4 |
| *Kenneth Mac Alpin* | 109 | *Kenneth Mac Alpin* | 109 |

On comparing these two lists it will be observed that they both agree as to the reign of Muredach, and that after him they differ altogether, both in the names and number of the kings, until they come to Eoganan, where they once more agree during the last three reigns. The antiquity of the Albanic Duan, and the fact that the amount of the reigns of the different kings mentioned by it make up exactly the interval between the reign of Muredach and that of Kenneth, precludes the possibility of that part of the list not being authentic; while at the same time the number and accordance of the Latin

Lists obliges us to receive their catalogue also as genuine; consequently, the only supposition which can be made is, that between the reigns of Muredach and Eoganan, there existed in Dalriada two independent lines of princes, and that these two lines were once more united in the person of Eoganan, after he had reigned seventeen years in one part of the Dalriadic territories.

Two of the kings contained in the Latin Lists during this period are to be found in the Irish Annals: in 778 they mention the death of Edfin Mac Eachach, *Ri Dalriada*, and in 781 the death of Fergus Mac Eachach, *Ri Dalriada*. From this it would appear that the kings of the Latin Lists were the kings of Dalriada, properly speaking, and not those of the Albanic Duan, and also that they were descended from Eachach, who reigned over Dalriada in 726, and who was a Scot, of the tribe of Gabran. The question then comes to be, who were the kings said by the Albanic Duan to be reigning in Dalriada during this period? Aodh, the first of them, could not, from the period of his reign, have been the same person with Edfin, as is generally supposed; and the fact that Aodh commenced his reign in the very year that the Pictish monarch, as we have seen, overran Dalriada, and conquered the whole district of Lorn, affords a strong presumption that he must have been put there by the Pictish king, and that he ruled over the Pictish possessions in Dal-

Pictish princes in Dalriada.

riada. This presumption is placed almost beyond a doubt, by the Annals of Ulster, where we find, in 749, "The burning of Cillemoire of Aidan, the son of Angus." Aodh could not have been of the line of Lorn, for the first of the proper kings of Dalriada during this period, as given by the Latin Lists, is Ewen, the son of Muredach, of that line. He could not have been of the line of Fergus, for Ewen is succeeded, in the thirteenth year of Aodh's reign, by Edfin of Fergus line; and when during the reign of Aodh we find Cillemoire, a place in Lorn, actually in possession of a person of the same name, and when that person is described as the son of *Angus*, shortly after the district of Lorn had been conquered by *Angus*, king of the Picts, we must hold it to establish beyond a doubt, that Aodh, or Aidan, was the son of Angus Mac Fergus, king of the Picts, and that he was the first of a line of Pictish princes who ruled over the Pictish possessions in Dalriada.

The two lines of kings reigning at the same time in Dalriada unite, as we have seen, in the person of Eoganan, whose reign in the Latin Lists is made to extend to thirty years, and in the Albanic Duan to only thirteen. He would appear, consequently, to have been one of the kings of Dalriada, of the Scottish line, and to have recovered possession of the territories which had been wrested from his ancestors by Angus in 736. This undertaking he apparently accomplished by the assistance of the

Recovery of Dalriada by the Scots.

Irish. The seventeenth year of his reign, or that in which he obtained possession of the whole of Dalriada, will fall about the year 819, and in that very year the Annals of Inisfallen mention the death or slaughter of Aid, king of Ireland, while fighting in Alban, or Scotland; and in another part of the same annals he is mentioned as having been killed at the battle of the *Drum;* thus plainly indicating that he assisted the Dalriads in recovering their ancient possessions, and that he was himself slain after they had pushed their success as far as the Drum, or Drumalban, the original boundary between the Picts and Scots.

The events which took place between the conquest of part of Dalriada by the Picts in 736, and its recovery by the Dalriads in 819, are not numerous.

Second league between the northern Picts and Dalriads, and their defeat.

In 741 the northern Picts appear once more to have leagued with the Dalriadic Scots, and to have slain one of the Pictish princes on the side of Angus Mac Fergus, which aggression was immediately followed by the attack and total defeat of the Dalriads.

In 749 Cillemoire, the residence of the Pictish prince in Lorn, was burnt, probably by Edfin, the Dalriadic king.

Death of Angus, King of the Picts.

In 761 died Angus Mac Fergus, certainly the most powerful king the Picts ever had. He raised the southern Picts to a great superiority in Scotland. He defeated the northern

Picts, and brought these turbulent tribes under his subjection. He almost annihilated the Scots of Dalriada; and yet it was his power and his victories which laid the germs of that revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Pictish influence in Scotland.

Angus was succeeded by his brother Brude, who reigned only two years. After Brude's death the northern Picts appear to have regained their strength sufficiently to enable them to place Kenneth, a chief of that race, upon the throne, although they were opposed by Aodh, the son of Angus and chief of the Piccardach. Kenneth was succeeded by Elpin, but it is uncertain whether he was of the northern or southern Picts. He was succeeded by Drust, son of Talorcan, who was probably the same as Talorcan, the king of Atholl, and therefore a northern Pict. Drust was succeeded by Talorcan, son of the famous Angus, and he again, after a reign of two years and a half, by Conall, the son of Tarla or Tadg, who reigned five years.

From the death of Angus, in the year 761, down to this period, there seems to have been a constant struggle between the northern and southern Picts for the superiority, the two races being apparently alternately successful, for a king of the one race generally succeeds one of the other down to the reign of Conall, when the southern Picts under Constantin Mac Fergus, a descendant of Angus,

succeeded once more in obtaining the preeminence which they had had under Angus.

In 789 a battle was fought between Conall and Constantin, in which Constantin was victorious, although Conall succeeded in making his escape. During a long reign of thirty years Constantin established the power of the southern Picts so firmly that he was enabled to transmit the crown to his posterity, and thus introduce hereditary succession to the throne for the first time among the Picts. Conall, on his defeat by Constantin, appears to to have adopted the usual policy of the northern Picts, and immediately to have entered into a league with the Dalriadic Scots; for we find him in 807 fighting in Dalriada, having attacked the possessions of the southern Picts in that territory, although unsuccessfully, as he was killed in Kintyre by Conall, the son of Aidan, the Pictish prince there.

Third league between the northern Picts and Dalriads.

Their defeat.

In 819, the Dalriads at last prevailed, after so many unsuccessful attempts, in recovering the territory which had been wrested from them by the Southern Picts, and their success was principally owing to the assistance of the Irish Monarch, although there can be little doubt that the northern Picts would on that occasion be faithful to those allies by whom they had been so frequently assisted.

In 839, Uen, the last king of the Picts of the line of Constantin, was killed by the Danes, and with

him the power of the Southern Picts again declined [1]. The only fact which is at all known with certainty after this date, is the death of Alpin, king of Dalriada in Galloway, after he had overrun and nearly destroyed that province [2]; and the chronicles are altogether silent until we find his son Kenneth in the undisturbed possession of the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

Such being a short outline of the events which occurred between the year 731 and the Scottish conquest, so far as they can be ascertained from the more authentic annalists, it will now be proper to proceed to the first line of argument by which the true character of that conquest can be established, namely, by arguing from the natural consequences of these events, and the change which they were calculated to produce in the relative situation of the different nations which at that time inhabited Scotland.

The accession of power by the southern Picts on three occasions having forced the northern Picts into league with the Dalriads against them, a fourth attempt would have the same result.

First.—We have seen that the pre-eminent power to which the Piccardach or southern Picts attained under Angus Mac Fergus, had the immediate effect of causing the northern Picts to offer every opposition to that power, and to take every opportunity of rendering themselves independent of them —an object, which, although they were unsuccessful during the life of Angus, they

[1] See note, p. 50.

[2] Register of St. Andrew's.

accomplished after his death, and even succeeded in placing two monarchs of their own race upon the Pictish throne.

We have also seen that the very same cause, under Constantin Mac Fergus and his brother Angus, fifty years later, produced the very same effect of causing the revolt of the northern Picts; and that although they were equally unsuccessful during the lives of these two princes, yet during the reign of Drust, son of Constantin, who succeeded Angus, they appear as independent, and governed by a king of their own of the name of Talorcan, according to the Pictish chronicle.

Such having been the result of the great accession of power obtained by the southern Picts upon three several occasions, it is to be presumed that when upon the death of Uen, the last king of the line of Fergus, the southern Picts attempted for the fourth time to assert their superiority, and to put forward a king of their own race, that the northern Picts would oppose them to the utmost of their power, and would endeavour, as they had done thrice before under similar circumstances, to render themselves altogether independent of the southern division of the race. But when we find that immediately after the death of Uen, the southern Picts were engaged in contest with Alpin, the Dalriadic king, and that they were unable to prevent his conquering Galloway, one of their principal provinces, we may infer that the northern Picts had been successful in

their fourth attempt, and consequently that at the date of the Scottish conquest they were perfectly independent of, and unconnected with the southern Picts.

Second.—Further, it has been seen that on the three several occasions when the power and superiority attained by the southern Picts under Angus Mac Fergus, and afterwards under Constantin, drove the northern Picts into revolt, they were not content with merely endeavouring to render themselves independent, but actually leagued with the Dalriadic Scots in active opposition to the Piccardachs; on the first two occasions, when we find the king of the northern district of Atholl fighting along with the Dalriads against Angus, the Pictish king; and on the third occasion, when we find that Conall Mac Tadg, the king of the race of the northern Picts whom Constantin drove from the throne, was killed by the Pictish Prince of Lorn while fighting in *Kintyre*, and therefore assisting the Scots of Dalriada. It is but reasonable to infer, that when the power of the southern Picts drove them for the fourth time into revolt, they would again join the Scots in opposition to the Piccardachs, and would assist them in their final and successful attempt. Again, the great object of the Piccardach princes was apparently to perpetuate the succession to the Pictish crown in their own family, and the northern Picts appear to have constantly opposed that object, and

consequently to have upheld the ancient Pictish mode of succession by the female line. Now as from the name of Alpin, and those of his descendants, it is plain that the Dalriadic king must have been connected with the Picts by the female line, it is natural to suppose that the northern Picts would support the heir to the Pictish crown according to the ancient system of succession, rather than to permit the introduction of hereditary succession in the line of the southern Picts, and the consequent increase of their power, even although that support should have the effect of placing a foreign family upon the throne.

It is manifest, then, that if the Cruithne or northern Picts were altogether independent of the southern Picts at the time of the conquest, and if they even actually assisted the Dalriadic Scots in that conquest, they would themselves remain unaffected by its results, and instead of suffering from the success of that invasion, would even in all probability obtain an accession of territory.

Second mode of argument, by contrasting the situation of the tribes after the conquest, with their condition in 731.

Such is the conclusion to which we are brought by this mode of argument; but there is still another mode by which the nature and intent of this revolution may be ascertained. We know the exact state and internal condition of the different tribes in 731: by contrasting with this the situation of the same tribes after the alleged conquest, it is manifest that we

may deduce from their condition after that event the probable nature of the revolution which produced so great a change.

From this contrast we obtain the following results:—

First.—In the year 731, Scotland was inhabited by two distinct nations, the Picts, and the Dalriadic Scots. These nations were independent of each other, and were governed by independent lines of princes. After the year 843, we find the whole of Scotland under the government of one monarch; it therefore necessarily follows, either that these two nations were united into one, or that the one reduced the other under its dominion.

Second.—As we find that after the year 843 there was but one king over Scotland, and as we find that the succession to the throne was purely hereditary, it is manifest that the monarch must have been descended either from the Scottish or the Pictish line. But the name of Scotland appears never to have been applied to North Britain before that date, but rather to have subsequently extended itself gradually over the whole country, and to have at last superseded the more ancient appellation of Albion or Albania. It is consequently to be inferred that the later kings were of the Scottish race, and that the Scots had obtained a preponderance over the Picts; besides this inference, which results naturally from the argument, the whole authorities for the early history of Scotland concur in establishing the fact, that Kenneth,

the first monarch who ruled over the whole country, was of the Scottish race.

Third.—When we consider that the name of Scotland did not spread rapidly over the country, but that it was many centuries before that appellation comprehended the whole of Scotland, and also that the first four or five kings of the line of Kenneth are termed by the Irish annalists kings of the *Picts*, and not of the Scots, or of Scotland, we must infer that the effects produced by the conquest did not extend to the whole of the Picts, but that a very considerable part of them must have remained altogether unaffected by the invasion, and that the name of Scotland must have spread over the country, rather from the fact of its kings being derived from that race, and of their political preeminence, than from an actual subjugation of all the Pictish tribes, as feigned by the Scottish historians; a theory the absurdity of which it is impossible not to perceive, if we look at the state of Scotland in 731, and the very great superiority of the Picts over the Scots in power, extent of territory, and in numbers.

Fourth.—If we find, subsequent to the year 843, or the date of the supposed conquest, any part of the Pictish nation appearing as a body, under a peculiar national name, and apparently distinguished by that name from the rest of Scotland, it is manifest that that tribe could have formed no part of the Scottish conquest, and must have retained their territory and their independence, notwithstanding the

subjugation of the rest of the country. But we find from the Irish annalists, that as late as the year 865, the Northern Picts appear as a distinct people from the rest of Scotland, under their ancient and peculiar name of *Cruithen tuath*, or *Cruithne* of *the North*. We must consequently conclude that the Cruithne were not affected by the conquest, but remained a peculiar and distinct people for many years afterwards. The northern Picts, however, are not the only exceptions; for the Strath Clyde Britons exhibit a parallel instance of the same thing. They are frequently mentioned after the date of the conquest, by their peculiar national appellation. And we know from history that they were not included in the conquest, but remained for a long period independent, and under the government of their own kings.

Not only, however, do the northern Picts appear as a distinct body under their peculiar appellation of Cruithne, as late as the year 865, but we even find that their territories, consisting of the whole of Scotland north of the Grampians, *retained the appellation of Pictavia* as late as the year 894. This appears very clear from the Pictish Chronicle, for in 865, when the annals of Ulster mention that the Northmen ravaged the Cruithen tuath or northern Picts, the Pictish Chronicle, in relating the same event, uses the expression Pictavia, instead of Cruithen tuath. Afterwards, in 894, the Pictish Chronicle mentions that the Norwegians conquered *Pictavia*,

but we know from the Norse Sagas that this conquest was confined to the country north of the Grampians. Wherever the Norwegians ravaged other parts of the country, the Pictish Chronicle invariably uses the expression Albania instead of Pictavia. If the northern Picts appear as a distinct people, retaining their ancient appellation so late as the year 865, and if their territories also retained the name of Pictavia as late as the end of the ninth century, it is evident that that territory could not have been comprised within those conquered by the Scots, and that the name of Scotland must have spread over that part of the country from other causes than that of conquest.

This result is confirmed by all the native writers of Scotland, who invariably confine the Scottish conquest to the country south of the Grampians, although they err in supposing that the country north of that range had been previously in possession of the Scots.

The result of both modes of argument, that the Scots conquered the southern Picts only.

Upon comparing, therefore, the results obtained by the two lines of argument which we have followed, we find them to coincide so very remarkably with each other, that we cannot, in the absence of express authority regarding the nature of this revolution, come to any other conclusion, than that we have made the nearest possible approximation to the truth, and that from a strict analysis of all the facts known, either preceding or subsequent to that event, and of the inferences

deducible from them, it appears that the conquest by the Dalriadic Scots was confined exclusively to the Piccardach or southern Picts—that the Scots were assisted in that conquest by the Cruithne or northern Picts—and that after the conquest, the *northern Picts*, although they owed a nominal submission to the kings of the Scottish line, *yet remained in fact independent, and still retained their ancient territories and peculiar designation.*

This view of the conquest is strongly corroborated by the contemporary testimony of Nennius, who mentions, that in the fifth century a colony of Jutes under Octa and Ebussa, settled on the north of the "Mare fresicum id est *quod inter nos Scotosque est usque ad confinia Pictorum.*"[1] Whatever may be the truth with regard to this colony, the clear inference from this passage is, that fifteen years after the Scottish conquest, or in 858, when Nennius wrote, the Scots occupied the country immediately north of the Firth of Forth, and the Picts lay beyond them, and were separated from them by a distinct boundary. In other words, the Scots occupied the territories previously possessed by the southern Picts, while the northern Picts remained untouched; and this view is likewise supported by the only facts regarding the war immediately preceding that event, which are to be found in the ancient chronicles.

Alpin's attack appears, from the register of St.

[1] Nennius, c. 37.

Andrew's, to have been confined to Galloway, a province of the *southern* Picts; and it is expressly said by that chronicle, that it was his conquest of that territory which transferred the kingdom of the Picts to the Scots. Kenneth, his son, apparently fought but one battle, and that battle took place, according to the same chronicle, at Forteviot, in the very heart of the territory of the southern Picts.

The origin of the fable of the subjugation and even extermination of the whole Pictish nation, is probably to be found in the circumstance, that the southern Picts were known by the peculiar name of Piccardach or Picts proper, a name which never occurs after the date of the conquest, while the northern Picts have the appellation of Cruithne, under which name they appear as late as the year 865, and thus those events which originally belonged to the Piccardach or Picts proper only, were afterwards, when both names had long ceased to be used, naturally extended to the whole Pictish nation.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Northern Picts called themselves Gael, spoke the Gaelic language, and were the real ancestors of the modern Highlanders.

In the preceding chapter it has been shewn that the revolution in 843, generally termed the Scottish conquest, made no alteration whatever in the state of the inhabitants of the northern or mountainous part of Scotland, but that its effects were confined exclusively to the southern and lowland districts. This important point being established, we come now more immediately to the question of the origin of the modern Highlanders, or that Gaelic race at present inhabiting these mountains. From the remarks which have been previously made on the early history of Scotland, it is plain the Highlanders must have been either the descendants of the northern Picts, or of the Scots of Dalriada who conquered the southern Picts, or else we must suppose them to have been a different people from either of these nations, and to have entered the country subsequently to the Scottish conquest; for these three suppositions manifestly exhaust all the theories

which can be formed on the subject of their origin. The second of these theories is the one which has generally been maintained by historians, and the traditions at present current among the Highlanders themselves would rather support the latter. In another part of this work, the descent of the modern Highland clans from the Gaelic race which inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, will be fully shewn. But the present chapter will be devoted to the proof of the simple fact, that that Gaelic race were the descendants of the inhabitants of the same district in the ninth century, and consequently of the northern Picts. It would be inconsistent with the limits of this work to enter into any examination of the other two hypotheses, and it would also be unnecessary, for it is evident that if I am successful in establishing this great fact, the reputed origin of the Highlanders from the Scots, whether of Dalriada or of Ireland, as well as all the other systems which have been maintained, must be equally false.

Descent of the Highlanders from the northern Picts.

The descent of the Highlanders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from the northern Picts of the ninth, may be proved in two ways:—First, by shewing that the northern Picts spoke the same language and bore the same national appellation as the Highlanders, and when we add to this the fact, that they inhabited the same territories at no very great distance of time, the presumption will be very strong that they must have

been the same people. Secondly, by tracing the Highlanders up to the northern Picts, and by shewing such a connexion between these two nations as to render it impossible that any foreign people could have settled in the Highlands between these periods.

Gaelic the language of the Picts.

*In the first place*, they spoke the same language, and were known among themselves by the same national name. It is well known that the language spoken by the Highlanders of Scotland is a dialect of that great branch of the Celtic languages termed the "Gaelic," and that the people using that language have always termed themselves Gael, while the Highlanders as belonging to that branch of the Celtic race designate themselves sometimes as Gael and sometimes Albanaich or Gael Albanaich. These facts are admitted by every one.

The Welsh Triads.

The first proof which I shall bring that the Picts were a Gaelic race, and spoke a dialect of the Gaelic language is from the Welsh Triads. The Triads appear distinctly to have been written previous to the Scottish conquest in the ninth century, and they mention among the three usurping tribes of Britain the "*Gwyddyl Ffichti*," and add immediately afterwards, "and these Gwyddyl Ffichti are in Alban, along the shore of the sea of Llychlyn." In another place, among the treacherous tribes of Britain, the same Triads mention the "Gwyddyl coch o'r Werddon a ddaethant in Alban," that is "the Red Gwyddyl from Ireland,

who came into Alban," plainly alluding to the Dalriads, who were an Irish colony, and who have been acknowledged by all to have been a Gaelic race. It will be observed from these passages that the Welsh Triads, certainly the oldest and most unexceptionable authority on the subject, apply the same term of Gwyddyl to the Picts and to the Dalriads, and consequently they must have been of the same race, and the Picts a Gaelic people. Farther, the Welsh word "Gwyddyl," by which they distinguish that race, has been declared by all the best authorities to be exactly synonymous with the word Gael, the name by which the Highlanders have at all times been distinguished, and the Welsh words "Gwyddyl Ffichti" cannot be interpreted to mean any thing else than "THE GAELIC PICTS," *or* "PICTISH GAEL."[1]

Besides the passage above quoted, the Triads frequently mention the Picts, and at all times with the word "Gwyddyl" prefixed. Caradoc of Nantgarvan, a Welsh writer of the twelfth century, also frequently mentions the Picts by this title of "Gwyddyl Ffichti," or Gaelic Picts.

But the Welsh writers are not the only authorities who prove the Picts to have spoken Gaelic, for a native writer of the seventh century, and one who from his residence in the north of Scotland must

[1] It may be mentioned that these passages are taken from the *originals* in Welch, as published in that invaluable work the Welsh Archæology.

have been well acquainted with their language, furnishes the most incontrovertible evidence that that language was a dialect of the Gaelic.

Adomnan.

Adomnan, it is well known, wrote the Life of Saint Columba in the seventh century, at a time when the Picts were at the height of their power. On one occasion he mentions that when Columba was in Sky, a *Gentile* old man, as he always terms the Picts, came to him, and having been converted, was baptized in that island. He then adds this passage: "qui hodieque in ora cernitur maritima fluviusque ejusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat *ex nomine ejus* DOBUR *Artbranani* usque in hodiernum nominatus diem ab *accolis* vocitatus."[1] It so happens, however, that "*Dobur*" in Gaelic means "a well," and that it is a word altogether peculiar to that language, and not to be found in any other. It has been fully proved in a preceding chapter, in discussing the extent of the Pictish territories, that the inhabitants of Sky must at that time have been Picts, and consequently it will follow of necessity from this passage that they used the Gaelic language.

It may be proper here to notice an argument which has been frequently drawn from Adomnan, that the Picts and Scots must have spoken languages very different from each other. It has been urged as a conclusive argument by those who assert the language

[1] Adomnan, b. 1. c. 33.

of the Picts to have been a Teutonic dialect, that on several occasions when Columba, who was an Irish Scot, addressed the Picts, he is described by Adomnon as using an *interpreter*. Now, although Columba is very frequently mentioned as conversing with the Picts, there are but two occasions on which any such expression is used[1], and in both passages the expression of Adomnan is exactly the same, viz.:— "Verbo Dei per interpretatorem recepto." It will be remarked, that Adomnan does not say that Columba used an interpreter in conversing with the Picts, but merely that he interpreted or explained the word of God, that is, the Bible, which being written in Latin, would doubtless require to be interpreted to them; and the very distinction which is made by Adomnan, who never uses this expression when Columba addresses the Picts, but *only* when he reads the word of God to them, proves clearly that they must have understood each other without difficulty, and that there could have been but little difference of language between the two nations of Picts and Scots.

Topography of the country.

The third proof which I shall adduce to show that the Picts spoke a Gaelic dialect, and perhaps the strongest of all, is derived from the topography of the country. The territories of the Picts, as we have shewn in a preceding chapter, consisted of the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of

[1] Adomnan, b. 2. c. 33. 12.

Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the southern parts of Argyll. It has never been disputed that the names of the places in general throughout this territory can admit of being derived from some Celtic dialect only, and that those in the Highlands are exclusively Gaelic; even Pinkerton has confessedly failed altogether in his attempt to discover Teutonic etymologies for the topography of the country. It would therefore be but a waste of time to prove an assertion which has been so generally admitted; and it will only be necessary here to notice two objections which have been made to the conclusion to which we are naturally led by this fact, viz.:—that the Picts, who at all times inhabited the greater part of the north of Scotland, must have been a Gaelic people.

In the first place, it has been said that there is a clear distinction perceptible between the names of places in the Highlands and those in the eastern or Lowland part of the country, and that while the former are unquestionably Gaelic, the latter can be traced to the Kymric or Welsh dialect only. From this supposed distinction, one author [1] concludes that the country must have been inhabited by British tribes before the arrival of the Caledonians or Picts, who are considered by him as of Teutonic origin; and another author [2] infers, from the same fact, that the Picts themselves were of Cymric or British

[1] Pinkerton. [2] Chalmers.

descent. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than the premises from which these conclusions are drawn; for an attentive examination of the topography of the two divisions of the country will shew, that there is no difference whatever between the elements which compose the names of the natural features in both, and that those in the Lowlands are as purely Gaelic as those in the Highlands.

The words which are principally dwelt upon as affording proof of a Welsh derivation are those syllables Aber, For, Pit, Lan, Strath, &c., which so frequently enter into the composition of the names of places in Scotland. Now nothing more will be requisite than to refer to the best Gaelic dictionaries, in order to shew that all these words are as purely Gaelic as they are Welsh; and a map of the Highlands will prove distinctly that they are to be found as constantly occurring in the one part of the country as in the other[1].

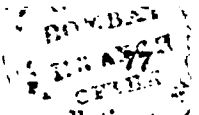
[1] The first of these words is the one which has been principally made use of in this argument, and it has been always assumed that *Aber* is a Welsh word corresponding exactly with the Gaelic word *Inver*, and that they are used synonymously in the different parts of Scotland. The best mode of ascertaining to what language a word properly belongs is by reducing that word to its primitives, and in whatever language these primitives are found, it is from that dialect that the word must be held to have sprung. Now the Gaelic word *inver* is well known to be composed of the preposition *ann* and the primitive word *bior*, signifying water; but it is quite plain that that word *bior* also enters into the composition of the word *aber*, which is formed

The second objection which has been made to the conclusion is a more serious one, for it has been asserted by one writer with great confidence, that the topography of Scotland has changed, and that the Gaelic names so universal over the country were introduced by the Scottish conquest in the ninth century. Of such a change of nomenclature he has, after much research, produced one solitary example. To this it might be a sufficient answer to remark, that history shews us that a change of population rarely if ever produces any change in the topography of the country, and that in particular no change is perceptible in Scotland during the last eight centuries, although the Lowlanders, a Teutonic race, have been in possession of the country which was previously inhabited by a Celtic race. But a still stronger answer will be found in the fact that a considerable number of the names of places in the Pictish territories *previous* to the Scottish conquest, have come down to us in the ancient chronicles, and that these names are invariably retained in the present day, and are of pure Gaelic origin. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the Pictish Chronicle. That ancient chronicle, in mentioning the foundation

by the addition of the Gaelic word *ath*, signifying a ford, and consequently, according to the rules of philology, we must consider *aber* to be a Gaelic word; a fact which is asserted in the latest and best Gaelic dictionaries. With regard to all these disputed words, reference is made to the excellent Gaelic Dictionary published by the Highland Society of Scotland.

of the Church of Abernethy, describes the boundaries of the territory ceded to the Culdees by the Pictish king as having been "a lapide in *Apurfeirt* usque ad lapidem juxta *Cairfuil*, id est Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad *Athan*." It is plain from the style of this passage that these names were used at that very time, and it is a remarkable fact that the same places are still known by these names, although slightly corrupted into those of Apurfarg, Carpow, and Ayton, and that the words are unquestionably Gaelic. It may also be remarked that the "Cairfuil id est Lethfoss" is exactly parallel to the instance so triumphantly adduced by the author above alluded to[1], and shews that a place may from various circumstances have two names, both of which can be traced to the same language. It will be unnecessary to produce other instances in proof of the fact that the names of places have almost universally remained unaltered to the present day from a very early period. A perusal of Adomnan's life of St. Columba will of itself be sufficient to establish the fact in respect of Scottish topography, and numerous examples will be found in other sources. These three proofs then which we have brought forward suffice to shew that the Picts must have spoken a Gaelic dialect, and form a body of evidence much stronger than any which can generally be adduced regarding the language of a nation of which no written memorial has come down to us.

1 "Inverin qui fuit Aberin."—Chalmers.



Albani the national appellation of the Picts.

With regard to their national appellation, it may be remarked, that besides the evidence of the Welsh Triads, the Pictish Chronicle shews that they were known in the ninth century by the name of Gael. That chronicle mentions, in the reign of Donald, the brother and successor of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the following circumstance:— "In hujus tempore jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdachi fecerunt *Goedeli* cum rege suo in Fothuirtabaict." The kingdom of Edus or Edfin was, it is well known, the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada prior to the conquest. Now if by the word Goedeli the Scots are meant, it is impossible to conceive how they could come to enact laws which were already the laws of their kingdom. The manner in which the passage is expressed plainly indicates that the Goedeli were different altogether from the regnum Edi, and that the Goedeli were enacting the laws of a kingdom different from their own. The transaction has also plainly the appearance of a species of treaty or compact between the Goedeli on the one hand and the king on the other. We know that the regnum Edi was the Scottish kingdom, and that Donald, at that time king, was of Scottish lineage, and a descendant of Edfin. The only mode by which an intelligible construction can be put upon this passage, is to suppose that the Goedeli here refers to the Picts, and that the Pictish Chronicle is describing a solemn agreement between the Picts and the Scottish king, by which they submitted themselves

to him, and adopted many of the laws of the Scottish kingdom. Besides the general name of Gael, the Picts also, as well as the Highlanders, used the name of Albani or Albanaich; and an instance of this will be found in the descriptions given by the ancient Saxon writers of the Battle of the Standard in the year 1136, where the Picts of Galloway, who were placed in the front of the army, are mentioned, in charging the enemy, to have shouted as their war-cry, "Albanich, Albanich!"

When we consider that the northern Picts have been proved to have inhabited the whole of the Highlands, with the exception of southern Argyll, even as late as the end of the ninth century, and that the Scottish conquest did not produce any change either in their situation or in their territories; and that it has also been proved that these northern Picts spoke the Gaelic language, and bore the appellation of Gael and Albanich as well as the Highlanders, the presumption is very strong indeed that they must have been the same people, and one which it would require evidence of no ordinary force to overturn. But in the second place, there is still another proof which remains to be adduced in order to show that the Highlanders were the descendants of the northern Picts, and that is, to trace the Highlanders as in possession of the Highlands as far back as we can, until we arrive at a period in which we had previously found the northern Picts in-

The Highlanders can be traced back to the period when the northern Picts were in possession of their country.

habiting the same country; and thus the impossibility of the Highland clans having been descended from any other nation, would be evident.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the north of Scotland, which at that time was unquestionably inhabited by a Gaelic race, was divided into several great districts; the principal of which were the districts of Athol, Moray, Ross, Garmoran, Mar, and Buchan. During this period also, we find, in the ancient chronicles, and in the Irish Annalists, very frequent mention made of certain persons bearing the title of Maormors, and generally acting an important part in the various events of Scottish history. It is of the greatest consequence for the due understanding of the history of this period, as will appear in the sequel, to ascertain exactly the nature of that title, and of the territorial divisions of Scotland at the time; and fortunately these ancient authorities have left us sufficient materials for that purpose. A comparison of the different facts recorded regarding that office, will lead to the following results.

The Maormors.

First.—The office of Maormor appears to have been next in dignity and power to that of the king; thus, the Annals of Ulster, in describing one of the numerous battles which took place between the Scots and the Danes in the tenth century, add "that many of the Scots were killed, but that neither king nor *Maormor* of them were lost in the conflict."[1]

[1] An. Ult. ad an. 917.

Besides this, the Pictish Chronicle frequently records the death of some of the Maormors as well as that of the king.

Second.—We always find the title of Maormor associated and connected with one or other of the great districts into which Scotland was at that time divided; thus, the Annals of Ulster mention the Maormor of Moray,—the Pictish Chronicle, the Maormors of Angus, Atholl, &c.—the Annals of Innisfallen, the Maormor of Mar; and that connexion was apparently so close and intimate, as to enable them at times to wage independent war with the king of Scotland himself.

Third.—Every notice regarding the succession of the Maormors which has reached us, proves that they observed a rule of succession strictly hereditary. Of this many examples might be given, but perhaps the strongest will be found in the succession of the Maormors of Moray.

In 1032, the Annals of Ulster mention the death of Gilcomgain Mac Maolbride, Maormor of Mureve. Afterwards in 1058, they have the death of Lulac Mac *Gilcomgan*, king of Scotland; and in 1085, the death of Maolsnechtan Mac *Lulach*, king or Maormor of Mureve. Here we see that although one of the Maormors of Moray had obtained possession of the throne of Scotland, yet on his being driven from that prominent station, his son appears as Maormor of Moray. The history of the same family also shews very clearly, that the succession to the dignity

of Maormor was strictly a male succession, for in the beginning of the eleventh century we find Malcolm Mac Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, in possession of the throne of Scotland; and although it appears from the Sagas, that Sigurd, earl of Orkney, married Malcolm's daughter, and that on Malcolm's death, Thorfinn, earl of Orkney, his grandson, was his nearest heir according to feudal principles, yet we find that he was succeeded in Moray by his brother Gilcomgan Mac Maolbride, to whose posterity also his claim to the throne of Scotland descended.

Fourth.—Not only were the Maormors so intimately connected with the great districts of Scotland as to shew that they must have possessed in them considerable power and extent of territory, but they also appear as the hereditary leaders of great tribes, as well as the hereditary governors of these districts. For in the year 1020, Tighernac mentions the death of Finlay Mac Ruairi, *Maormor of the Clan Croeb*, or sons of Croeb, by the children of his *brother Maolbride*. This is a very important fact, for it shews that the Gaelic population of the north of Scotland was divided into great tribes, corresponding to the great territorial divisions of the country; and that over each of these tribes, the Maormor of the district was hereditary lord, and consequently it follows from this fact, that the Maormors were of the same race with the people whom they governed.

Fifth.—Further, this title of Maormor was quite peculiar to the Gaelic people, who at this period in-

habited Scotland. It is impossible, on examining the history of this early period, to avoid being struck with this fact, and the remark has accordingly been very generally made by the later historians. It was altogether unknown among the Irish, although they were also a Gaelic people; for although Tighernac frequently mentions Maormors of Alban as being engaged in many of the feuds in Ireland, yet we never find that title given by any of the Annalists to an Irish chief. In Britain the title was confined to the north of Scotland, and although many of the Saxon and Norman barons and other foreigners obtained extensive territories in Scotland, and even at an early period not unfrequently succeeded, by marriage to the possessions and powers of some of the Maormors, yet we never find them appearing under that title. From this it is plain, that whenever we find a person bearing the title of Maormor, we may conclude that that person was chief of some tribe of the Gaelic race which inhabited the northern districts of Scotland at this period.

Sixth.—The great territorial divisions of Scotland, the chiefs of which were termed Maormors, appear in the Norse Sagas under two names, Riki and Iarldom, of which the former was more peculiarly and exclusively applied to them. Thus, on one occasion it is said, that Sigurd had these Rikis in Scotland, Ros, Sutherland, Moray, and Dala. But Sigurd was also in possession of Caithness, which having belonged to the Norwegians for a long time,

was not governed by a Maormor, and as that district is not included under the term Riki, it is plain that that term was applied only to the Maormorships, if I may so call them. With regard to the other term, *Iarldom*, the Orkneyinga Saga mentions, that Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, died possessed of the Hebrides, a great extent of territory in Ireland, and nine Iarldoms in Scotland; by these Iarldoms, the Maormorships only can be meant, and it will be observed, that in narrating the possessions of Thorfinn, that term is applied to the districts on the mainland of Scotland only. The Maormors themselves appear in the Norse Sagas under one name only, that of *Scotajarl*, and there is good reason for thinking that that title was applied to them exclusively.

From the preceding observations upon the nature of the title of Maormor, and of the territorial divisions of Scotland in the eleventh century, we see that at that period the Gaelic inhabitants of the north of Scotland were divided into several great tribes, which corresponded exactly with the great territorial divisions of the country. We also see, that the Maormors of the different districts were the hereditary and native chiefs of these great tribes, and that that title was altogether peculiar to the Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland. The history of these Maormors, then, becomes a very important medium for ascertaining the earlier history of the Highlanders; for, whenever we find any of the northern chiefs mentioned in the history of Scotland

as having this title, we may conclude with certainty, that the northern districts were at that time inhabited by the same Gaelic race whom we find in possession of them in the eleventh century. Independently of this, the particular history of some of the Maormors affords distinct evidence that the Highlanders inhabited the north of Scotland as far back as the middle of the tenth century, for the line of the Maormors of Moray can be distinctly traced as in possession of that district from the end of the eleventh century up to that period. The Maormors of Atholl also can be traced as far back, though not by such strong evidence as those of Moray, and likewise those of Mar.

In the preceding chapter, it has been seen that there is distinct evidence of the possession of the Highlands by the northern Picts as late as the conquest of Thorstein, in the year 894; there is consequently a period of but fifty-six years between the last notice of the northern Picts and the earliest period to which the line of the particular Maormors can be traced, and any revolution by which the Highlanders, if they were a foreign race, could have obtained possession of the north of Scotland, must have taken place during that short period of fifty-six years. But we find mention made of the Maormors of Scotland at a much earlier period than even this; for the annals of Ulster mention them as holding the rank next to the king in the year 917. It is quite impossible to suppose, that during the short space of

twenty-three years so very great a change could have taken place in the population of the northern districts, and that the northern Picts, who are found in almost independent possession of that part of Scotland, could have, during so short a time, been driven out of their territories, and a new race have come in their place; or that such an event, if it could have happened, would have escaped the notice of every historian. And this conclusion is also very strongly corroborated by the circumstance, that the Norse Sagas and the Irish Annals, which at all times mutually corroborate each other, and which together form the only authentic history of Scotland from the conquest of Thorstein in 894 down to the eleventh century, contain no hint whatever of any change in the population of the north of Scotland; and a perusal of the Sagas, which commence to narrate events in the north of Scotland in the very year in which we find the last mention of the northern Picts, will be sufficient to shew that no event of so very formidable a nature could have occurred without its having been mentioned by them.

The northern Picts are the ancestors of the Highlanders.

The history of the Maormors of Scotland, then, forms a clue by which the Highlanders of the eleventh century can be distinctly traced up to the northern Picts of the ninth century, and when we add to this, the facts that the northern Picts spoke the same language, bore the same national appellation, and inhabited the same territories as the Highlanders did, it is impossible that we can

come to any other conclusion than that they were the same people.

Having now concluded the chain of argument by which the true origin of the Highlanders of Scotland has been demonstrated, it will not be improper here to recapitulate shortly the different leading facts which have been established, and by which that origin has been determined.

*In the first place.*—It has been shewn, that from the earliest period down to the end of the fifth century, that part of Scotland which extends to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, was at all times inhabited by a single nation, termed by the Romans at first Caledonians, and afterwards Picts.

*In the second place.*—It has been proved, that in the beginning of the sixth century, an Irish colony arrived in Scotland, and obtained possession of the southern part of Argyll, and that during a period of 340 years, the territories and relative situation of the two nations of the Picts and Dalriads remained unaltered.

*In the third place.*—It has been proved, that during this period the Picts were divided into two great nations, the Dicaledones, Cruthne, or northern Picts, and the Vecturiones, Piccardach, or southern Picts; that the northern Picts inhabited the whole of the mountainous part of the country, with the exception of the Dalriadic territories, consisting of southern Argyll alone, while the southern Picts occupied the plains; that in the year 843, the Dal-

riadic Scots conquered the Piccardach or southern Picts, *but that their conquest was confined to that branch of the Pictish nation alone:* and that while the northern Picts probably assisted the Dalriadic Scots in that conquest, their situation was, at all events, not in any respect altered by it, but on the contrary, that they *remained in full possession of the north of Scotland.*

*In the fourth place.*—We have proved that *the northern Picts occupied the whole of the Highlands as late as the end of the ninth century;*—we have shewn that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national name as the Highlanders did;—and lastly, we have traced the Highlanders as in possession of the Highland districts, up to the very period in which we had previously found these districts inhabited by the northern Picts.

These facts then, supported as they are by evidence of no ordinary description, leads us to this simple result, that the Highlands of Scotland have been inhabited by the same nation from the earliest period to the present day. And that while the tribes composing that nation have uniformly styled themselves Gael or Albanich, they have been known to the numerous invaders of the country under the various appellations of Albiones, Caledonii, Picti, Dicaledones, Cruithne, Northern Picts, Reddschankes, Wild Scottis, and Highlanders.

## CHAPTER V.

General history of the Highlands from the first Norwegian invasion of that district to the accession of Malcolm Kenmore, and to the termination of the Norwegian kingdom of the Highlands and Islands.

THE preceding portion of this work has been devoted to a critical examination of the fragments which remain of the early history of Scotland, by which we have been brought to the conclusion, that the Highlanders of Scotland are the descendants of the northern Picts; and in the course of that examination, a view has been given of the leading facts of their history, down to the end of the ninth century. The state of the Highlanders at that period was very different indeed from what it was in the thirteenth century, when the Highland clans first make their appearance in their modern shape. In the ninth century we find them in possession of the whole of the north of Scotland, with the exception of the districts of Fife, Strathern, Angus, and Mearns, while in the thirteenth century they were entirely confined to the mountainous part of the country, and the eastern districts were occupied by a people of Teutonic

origin, and speaking a German language. The causes of this change in the population are to be found the events of Scottish history during the tenth and eleventh centuries; it will therefore be necessary, before proceeding with the history of the Highland clans, to give a rapid sketch of these events, in so far as they affected the state of the Highlands.

The limits of this work must of necessity render that sketch as concise as possible; but it will be proper to premise, that the history contained in the following chapters will be found altogether different from that which has generally been received; which arises from the simple fact, that instead of following the monkish writers, who have given birth to the fabulous notions of the present day, the author has gone to the only genuine sources of the history of this early period now extant, namely, the Norse Sagas, and the Annalists of Ireland, which, although entirely unconnected, corroborate each other in so remarkable a manner, as to leave no doubt of the authenticity of their details.

With the tenth century, the history of the Highlanders of Scotland may, properly speaking, be said to commence. Previously to that period, they appear indeed under their distinctive appellations of Dicaledones, Cruithne, or northern Picts, but still they were not then marked out from the other tribes of Scotland by any peculiarity of manners or of polity;—of their internal condition we know nothing;

—and their history in no degree differed from that of Scotland generally.

The conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Argyll, in which, if they were not assisted, at least they were not opposed, by the northern Picts, produced the first remarkable change in the internal state of Scotland. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, from being a powerful and, comparatively, civilized Celtic people, became a mixed race of Picts and Scots; their learning, their civilization, and their very name being lost in the Scottish barbarism with which they were overrun, while the Highlanders found, according to the usual fate of Celtic policy, that, in prosecuting an internal feud, they had placed a more formidable enemy in a situation of power which it was by no means easy for them to resist, and that they had purchased the defeat and ruin of their rival race of southern Picts by the loss of their own independence. The history of Scotland, from the Scottish conquest to the beginning of the tenth century, is principally characterised by the gradual and steady progress of the power and influence of the Scots in the plains of Scotland, and by the resistance of the inhabitants of its mountains to their domination, while both parties were equally exposed to the harassing invasions of the northern pirates. The erection of the Norwegian kingdom of the Isles and Earldom of Orkney, in the end of the ninth century, produced the next change in the internal

Erection of the Norwegian kingdom of the Isles and Earldom of Orkney. A.D. 888.

condition of Scotland, and may be considered as throwing the first distinct light on the history of the Highlands. Previously to this period, the ravages of the Norwegian pirates had for some time been incessant, and, in general, successful, yet they had not effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. The summer was spent by them on the seas, ravaging and laying waste wherever they were attracted by the prospect of plunder, while in winter they retired to some of the numerous isles of Scotland, to secure their plunder and recruit their followers. Towards the latter end of the ninth century, however, the pirates who infested these isles, received a great addition to their numbers and strength by the arrival of those Vikings who had unsuccessfully opposed the conquest of Norway by Harald Harfagr, and who preferred a piratical life on the ocean to one of submission to his authority. The facilities of shelter and protection which these islands afforded them, enabled them, by their incessant incursions on the newly erected kingdom of Norway, to harass the conqueror who had expelled them from their country, while, although Harald sent out his fleet every summer to drive them from the islands where they had taken refuge, he found that they merely evaded his force by flying to the open sea, and returned again to these retreats in winter. At length, Harald finding it in vain to protect his newly acquired dominions from the constant incursions of these

rovers, determined at once to put an end to their predatory expeditions, by the conquest of the isles which had afforded them shelter and the means of renewing these enterprises. For this purpose, having collected a powerful fleet, he set sail in person from Norway, and proceeding first to the Shetland Isles, he totally subdued them, and drove out the pirates who had there taken refuge. Continuing then his southern course, he reduced to his allegiance the Orkney Isles and Hebrides, concluding an uninterrupted career of victory with the capture of the Isle of Man, which was found deserted, its inhabitants having fled on his approach to the neighbouring coast of Scotland. Here he left a garrison for the maintenance of his authority in these distant isles, and retracing his course towards the north, ravaged the coasts of Scotland as he proceeded. Among the chiefs who had followed Harald in his expedition to the west was Rognwald, the son of Eystein, who had been made Iarl of the Maerians in Norway; he was accompanied by his brother Sigurd and his son Ivar, the latter of whom was killed in some one of the many encounters which Harald had with the pirates. In order to recompense the father in some measure for such a loss, Harald, on his return from the Irish seas, proposed to bestow upon Rognwald the isles of Orkney and Shetland, in addition to his former possessions. But Rognwald, finding that such a distant acquisition would bring more trouble than profit, besought Harald's permission to make over

the princely gift to his brother Sigurd, who was accordingly installed Iarl of the Orkneys.

Harald had no sooner returned to Norway than the native chiefs of the isles and the neighbouring districts of the mainland, who had been either expelled or subdued by the Norwegian pirates, took advantage of his absence, and of the complete dispersion of the pirates which he had effected, to seize possession of the isles, with the assistance of the Irish, and to revenge themselves for their previous subjection, by the expulsion and slaughter of the Norwegians whom Harald had left to secure the isles. In order effectually to subject the western isles to his authority, and to preclude the possibility of their again becoming a retreat for the pirates, from which they might harass his dominions, Harald determined to adopt the same method which had proved successful with the Orkneys, and with that view he dispatched Ketil, the son of Biorn, chief of Raumsdal, with a powerful fleet, and the title of Iarl, to the Hebrides. Ketil reached the Orkneys in safety, and proceeding thence along the line of the Hebrides, he successfully reduced them under his subjection, the Islesmen apparently having been quite unprepared for the prompt attack of the Norwegians.

No sooner, however, did Ketil find himself in the quiet possession of the western isles, than he determined to throw off his allegiance to the King of Norway; for this purpose he strengthened himself

by alliances of every description, both with the native chiefs of the isles and also with several of the pirates themselves, and then sending back to Norway the troops which had established him in his new possessions he refused to pay the stipulated tribute to Harald, and declared himself independent King of the Hebrides.

But Ketil was not destined long to enjoy his newly erected kingdom, as he appears to have died a very few years afterwards. On his death the chief authority in the isles was assumed by his son Helgi and his grandson Thorstein the Red, the son of his daughter Audur and Olaf the white, king of Dublin. The native chiefs of the isles seem soon after this to have embraced a favourable opportunity of again throwing off the yoke of the Norwegians altogether; as we find that Helgi left the Hebrides and settled with his adherents in Iceland, while at the same time Thorstein the Red, Ketil's grandson, proceeded in company with his mother to the Orkneys[1].

First Norwegian kingdom in the north of Scotland. A.D. 894—900.

Sigurd, then Earl of the Orkneys, received Thorstein with hospitality, and forming a close alliance with him, he took advantage of this great accession to his strength, to make a descent in company with his ally upon the northern districts of Scotland. The two pirate kings rapidly made themselves masters of the districts of Kateness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, and their pro-

[1] Snorro, Orkneyinga Saga, Landnamabok, Laxdaela Saga, Olafs Saga.

gress southward was only arrested by that part of the great barrier of the Grampians which forms the southern boundary of the district of Marr. The Norse Sagas have recorded the names of two of the Scottish Iarls or Maormors who were slain in this expedition, Meldun and Melbrigda Tonn; the latter of these Maormors appears to have been the last who opposed Sigurd, and was therefore in all probability Maormor of Marr. The death of this Maormor was revenged upon Sigurd in a most remarkable manner, if we are to believe the incident as related in the Norse Sagas. Melbrigda, say these writers, derived his appellation of Tonn from his possessing a very prominent tooth, and Sigurd having slain him in battle, cut off his head and suspended it to the front of his saddle as he galloped over the field of his victory. The violence of the motion occasioned the prominent tooth to inflict a wound on the thigh of the Iarl, which inflamed, produced mortification, and ultimately caused the Iarl's death. He was buried in the territories of him he had slain [1].

On the death of Sigurd, his son Guttorm succeeded to him as Earl of Orkney, while Thorstein the Red, retaining possession of the conquests of the mainland, assumed the title of king of the half of Scotland. Thorstein had scarcely enjoyed his newly acquired territories for six years when the chiefs of the north of Scotland determined to make an effort for the recovery of the districts which had

[1] Landnamabok, Olafs Saga, &c.

been wrested from them by the Norwegians. They united together, and under the command of Dungadi or Duncan, the Iarl or Maormor of Caithness, they made a general and simultaneous attack upon Thorstein; a pitched battle ensued, which ended in the defeat and death of Thorstein, and the expulsion of the Norwegians from the north of Scotland[1].

A.D. 900.

Thus terminated the first Norwegian kingdom in the Highlands, which lasted too short a time to have had much effect upon the population. And after this little can be gathered from the Norse writers as to the state of Scotland till the close of the tenth century. Thorfinn, who was Earl of Orkney about the middle of that century, appears to have regained possession of Caithness, but during a long reign, made no other attempt to extend his conquest in Scotland; he had married the daughter of Duncan, the Maormor of Caithness, and in all probability founded a claim to the district from that circumstance; but with the exception of Caithness, the northern chiefs appear from the Sagas to have enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their territories during the whole of this period.

After the kingdom of Thorstein, the Sagas throw somewhat more light upon the internal state of the Highlands. From the first Norwegian conquest under Thorstein to the end of that under Sigurd II., we find frequent mention made of various

[1] Sagas above referred to.

powerful Scottish chiefs, who universally appear under the Norwegian title of Iarls, but in addition to this we can now distinctly trace the division of the north of Scotland into a number of tribes, possessing considerable extent of territory, whose chiefs or Maormors it was to whom the Norwegians gave the title of Iarl. The people who opposed the invasions of the Norwegians at this period were unquestionably the descendants of the very same people who fought with the Romans many ages before, and who then exhibit the same division into tribes of a similar extent. Now, when we consider the rugged and almost inaccessible nature of the northern Highlands, the few circumstances which occurred during the first eight centuries to make any great alteration in the state of its tribes, and the unlikelihood that any political change or event which might take place in a different part of the country, could exercise any great influence over the inhabitants of districts so remote; there is every reason to conclude that the northern tribes would in all probability vary but little in their situation, extent, numbers, or power, from the period of the Roman invasion to the tenth century; and accordingly when we compare the number and situation of the tribes into which the Highlands were divided in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with the minute and accurate account of the Caledonian tribes, given by Ptolemy in the second century, we find that in three particulars only is there the

slightest variation between them, and that with these exceptions, the north of Scotland in the eleventh century exhibits the exact counterpart, in the number and extent of its tribes, to the same districts in the second.

The first variation which we observe is in the situation of the two tribes of the Caledonii and the Vacomagi. In Ptolemy's time the Caledonii certainly inhabited the west of Atholl, the district of Badenoch, and the numerous glens which branch out on every side from Lochness, while the Vacomagi possessed a tract of country extending along their eastern frontiers, and embracing the present counties of Nairn and Elgin, the districts of Strathspey, Strathearn, and Marr, and the eastern part of Atholl.

In the eleventh century we find these tribes in a different situation; for the territories occupied by these two tribes now formed the earldoms of Atholl, Moray, and Marr, the ridge of the Mounth or Mound, (including Drumnachdar,) dividing the former earldom from the two latter.

This is a change which could only have been produced by the sudden seizure of the districts which afterwards formed the earldom of Moray by another tribe, by which these two tribes would be respectively confined to Atholl and Marr; and as the territories of the Taixali still remained unaltered as the earldom of Buchan, probability points to the Canteæ, who lay immediately to the north of the districts in question, as the invading tribe. Now, it

is remarkable that we can distinctly trace this change in the relative position of these tribes at a very early period in the Irish Annals. In the year 666 Tighernac mentions the death of Eacha, *King* of the *Midland Cruithne*. The Cruithne, we have seen, was the peculiar name of the northern Picts, and as of all the tribes mentioned by Ptolemy that of the Caledonii proper is the only one which could be called Midland, it is plain that these kings of the Midland Cruithne were the chiefs of that tribe. Now, we find a singular change in their title within eighty years after this date, for in 739 Tighernac mentions the death of Talorgan, *King* of *Atholl*. Atholl was always a part of the territories of the Caledonians proper, and consequently, when we find the chiefs of that tribe preserving their title of king, but changing the designation of Midland Cruithne for the less extended title of Atholl, we can have little difficulty in inferring that they had between these two periods been deprived of the northern portion of their territories, and confined principally to that district. This change is confirmed by our finding distinct evidence of the extension of the eastern tribes towards the west in 668, for at that date Tighernac mentions the departure of the Gens Gartnaidh with the people of Sky for Ireland. The western position of the former tribe is sufficiently indicated by that of the latter, and the coincidence between the departure of that tribe for Ireland and the loss of their northern districts by the Caledonii is sufficient

to warrant us in concluding that these events were connected, and that the expulsion of the Gens Gartnaidh, and the death of Eacha, the king of the Midland Cruithne, was probably effected by the conquest of the latter together with the Vacomagi by the Canteæ, and the seizure by that tribe of the northern part of their territories. In this way the Vacomagi would be confined to the earldom of Marr, the Caledonii to that of Atholl, while the Canteæ would form the earldom of Moray; and as Tighernac mentions in 670 the return of the Gens Gartnaidh from Ireland, they probably occupied the district previously possessed by the Canteæ, and which afterwards formed the earldom of Ross. The same event will also account for the next variation in the possession of these tribes. In Ptolemy's time the southern division of modern Argyll was inhabited by the Epidii, the Creones extended from the Linne Loch to Kintail, and the present district of Wester Ross was possessed by the *Carnones.*

In 503 we know that the Dalriads obtained possession of the territories of the Epidii, and it is equally certain that Dalriada did not extend north of the Linne Loch. In 843 we know that the Dalriads left Dalriada and seized possession of the extensive country of the southern Picts, but in the eleventh century we find that the possessions of the Creones still remained a distinct earldom, under the title of Garmoran, while those of the Dalriads and

the Carnones appear as forming part of one great district, termed Ergadia or Oirirgael, while individually they were known as Ergadia Borealis and Australis. It is also worthy of notice that Lochaber formed a part of this great district, and in some degree connected the two detached portions.

The name of Argyll, it must be recollected, was not applied to any district of Scotland previous to the Scottish conquest, and consequently it must have arisen by the extension over the whole district of some tribe who had previously inhabited a part. That tribe could not have been the Dalriads, for such an extension would be quite incompatible with their conquest of the southern Picts, and it is difficult to see how their Highland conquest should have assumed such a form, or that the name of Argyll would have been confined to that part of their conquest only.

The Creones remained unaltered, and the only other people who at any time possessed any part of this district are the Carnones, who inhabited Wester Ross, and the Caledonians proper, who must have possessed Lochaber. One or other of these two tribes must, it is plain, have first dispossessed the other, so as to become the sole inhabitants of the northern part of Ergadia; and on the departure of the Dalriads in 843, they must have occupied the vacant territory, and thus extended the name over the whole, for from the detached and arbitrary na-

ture of the districts which were included under the name of Argyll, it is impossible in any other way to account for its application.

Now it is certainly remarkable, that at the very period when we have ascertained that the tribe of the Caledonii or Midland Cruithne were driven out of their northern possessions by the Canteæ, and when the conquered portion of the tribe must have taken refuge in other districts, probably to the west, we see an otherwise unaccountable emigration of the Gens Gartnaidh, or inhabitants of Wester Ross, to Ireland. The inference is unavoidable, that the vanquished Caledonians had dispossessed them, and taken possession of their territories. This tribe then, it is plain, inhabited the whole of the great district of Argyll, with the exception of Dalriada; and as at the period of the Scottish conquest in 843 they surrounded Dalriada *on every side*, we can have little hesitation in concluding that they probably obtained possession of the relinquished districts, and extended the name of Argyll over the whole.

Such is the natural deduction from the events obscurely indicated in the Irish Annals, but that the fact was really so, is proved by another circumstance.

It will afterwards be shewn, that the jurisdiction attached to each of the Culdee monasteries, was exactly co-extensive with the territories of the tribe in which the monastery was situated, and that these jurisdictions were in number and extent the same

with the earliest bishoprics in Scotland. Now the bishopric of Dunkeld originally consisted just of the district of Atholl and of Argyll, the latter of which was separated from it in A.D. 1200, and formed into an independent diocese. This is sufficient proof that some one tribe possessed at one time both of these districts, and as Atholl was at all times the principal possession of the Midland Cruithne or Caledonians proper, it puts the fact that the name of Argyll was applied to the territories on the west coast, acquired at different times by that tribe, beyond a doubt. The only other change which had taken place in the relative situations of the tribes is, that in place of the two tribes of the Loŭgai and Mertæ, we find the single earldom of Sutherland, and this change is certainly to be attributed to the conquest of the northern districts by Thorstein.

Although the districts of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray are certainly mentioned by the Sagas as forming a part of his kingdom in Scotland, yet it is plain, from the nature of the country and the rapidity with which he overran the whole of it as far as the Mounth, that that conquest must have comprehended only the eastern and less mountainous parts of these districts. Thorstein retained possession of his conquered territories for six years, and during this period it might be expected that the native tribes inhabiting these districts would be almost driven out—those whose possessions included moun-

tain districts would take refuge there in order to escape the invader, but it is scarcely to be expected that any tribe whose sole possessions were on the coast would escape almost total annihilation.

When the unconquered tribes, however, succeeded in driving the Norwegians out of the country, those who had taken refuge in their mountain recesses would regain possession of that part of their territories which they had lost, while the districts which had belonged to any tribe that had been totally crushed and overwhelmed by the Norwegians, would probably become the possession of the nearest tribe. Now the Loŭgai was almost the only tribe whose possessions were confined to the coast, and in the numerous Norse accounts of Thorstein's kingdom, we find traces of the extinction of the family of but one of the many Scottish Iarls who opposed him. The Landnamabok mentions the slaughter of Meldun, a Scottish Iarl, and the slavery of his whole family, who did not recover their freedom even on the reconquest of the northern districts by the native chiefs. There can be little doubt from this that the tribe inhabiting the coast of Sutherland had been almost entirely annihilated by the conquest of Thorstein, and that the tribe inhabiting the interior of this district had, on the extinction of the Norwegian kingdom, obtained possession of the whole.

The changes which had taken place in the relative situation of the northern tribes in the second and

in the eleventh century, will be more easily understood from the following Table:—

| *Names of the districts of the 10th century; from the Norse Sagas.* | | *Names of the Tribes inhabiting them; from Ptolemy.* |
|---|---|---|
| Katanes or Caithness . . . | | By the Kournaovioi. |
| Ness | — Durnes and Edderachylis. | ——— Kairinoi. |
| Sudrland | — Sutherland, except Strathnaver. | ——— Mertai. The Lougoi were destroyed by Thorstein, and the Mertai occupied the whole. |
| Ros | — Easter Ross . . | ——— Karnones, who were expelled from Wester Ross to Ireland, and two years afterwards returned and took possession of Easter Ross. |
| ——— | — Garmoran . . | ——— Kreones. |
| Myrhaevi | — Moray . . . | ——— Kanteai, who expelled the Caledonioi and Vakomagoi. |
| Dala | — Argyll . . . | ——— Kaledonioi, who originally possessed Atholl, occupied South Argyll on its relinquishment by the Dalriads, and expelled the Karnones out of North Argyll, or Wester Ross. |
| Atjoklar | — Atholl . . . | |

Second Norwegian kingdom in the north of Scotland. A.D. 986—993.

The second conquest of the north of Scotland by the Norwegians took place towards the end of the tenth century, and was occasioned by an attempt on the part of the Scots to recover possession of Caithness. Finlay, the son of Ruairi, Maormor of Moray, the chiefs of which district were at that time the most powerful in the northern part of Scotland, marched to Caithness with a powerful army, for the purpose of driving the Norwegians out of that district. He was met by Sigurd, then Earl of Orkney, with the whole force of the Orkneys, and after an obstinate engagement Finlay was defeated and obliged to fly. Sigurd, upon this success, immediately overran the whole of the Highlands with his victorious army, and obtained possession, with little difficulty, of the districts of Ross, Moray, Sutherland, and Dala or Argyll. The Celtic inhabitants of these districts, although, after the total defeat which they had sustained under the Maormor of Moray, they were unable to offer any opposition to the progress of Sigurd, were not disposed to endure the Norwegian yoke long without making an attempt to throw it off. Accordingly, Sigurd had retained possession of the conquered territories for seven years only, when the northern Maormors made a sudden rising, and succeeded in surprising and expelling the Norwegians from the Highlands, and slaying the governor whom the Earl of Orkney had placed over the conquered districts. Sigurd no sooner became aware of this

success, than he collected a numerous army among the islands, and at once proceeded to the mainland of Scotland; but he had scarcely landed in Caithness before he was informed that the Gaelic army under Kenneth and Melsnechtan, Maormors of Dala and Ross, was stationed near Duncansbay Head for the purpose of intercepting his progress. Sigurd immediately attacked the Highland army, and succeeded in killing Melsnechtan, one of their leaders, and putting the rest to flight. This success he would in all probability have followed up with the entire destruction of their army, and the recovery of his Highland possessions, had he not learned that Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray and nephew of Finlay, was at that moment approaching with an army too powerful for him to cope with. On receiving this intelligence, Sigurd judged it prudent to retire to the Orkneys, and thus left Malcolm in possession of the disputed districts. By Sigurd's retreat the Highland chiefs gained time to recover complete possession of the whole of the territories which had been for seven years wrested from them, and they established that possession so firmly, that Sigurd was never afterwards able to obtain a footing upon the mainland of Scotland [1].

Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray, by his success in expelling the Norwegians, and by the assistance derived from the extensive territories under his con-

[1] Olafs Saga, Snorro, Niala Saga.

trol, as well as by his great personal talent, had now acquired so much power and influence in the north of Scotland that he was enabled to obtain possession of the Scottish throne itself. In what his title to the crown consisted, or what was the nature of the claim which he made to it, it is impossible now to determine; but certain it is that he was supported in his attempt by the whole inhabitants of the northern part of Scotland, and in order to obtain the countenance of a people so singularly tenacious of their ancient customs, he must have possessed a stronger claim than what mere power or influence could give him, more especially as his descendants, for many generations afterwards, constantly asserted their right to the throne of Scotland, and as invariably received the assistance of the Celtic portion of its inhabitants. In all probability the Highlanders were attempting to oppose the hereditary succession in the family of Kenneth M'Alpin, and to introduce the more ancient Pictish law. Be this as it may, however, Malcolm, by the defeat and death of Kenneth M'Duff, at Monievaird, became king of Scotland. Shortly after he had mounted the throne, Malcolm effected a reconciliation with Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who married his daughter, and the fruit of this marriage was Thorfinn, who afterwards became the most powerful earl which the Orkneys ever possessed. On Malcolm's death, after a reign of twenty-six years, the Scottish faction, as it may be termed, in opposition

A.D. 1004.

to the Pictish or northern party, succeeded in placing a descendant of Kenneth M'Alpin again upon the throne. His name was also Malcolm; he was the son of Kenneth, whom his predecessor had defeated and slain, and is known in the Norse Sagas by the name of Kali Hundason. The second Malcolm had no sooner commenced his reign than he appears to have directed his efforts towards reducing the power of the Norwegians in Scotland; but this was a task to which his strength was by no means equal, for his opponent Thorfinn was a person of no ordinary talents and energy.

A.D. 1029.

On the death of Sigurd, his father, Thorfinn had received from his maternal grandfather, Malcolm, king of Scotland, the district of Caithness, which had so often been the subject of contention between the Norwegians and the Scots, and during Malcolm's life he had obtained every assistance from him in the government of his dominions. Malcolm M'Kenneth therefore determined to make this a pretext for going to war with Thorfinn. With this intention he demanded tribute from him for the territories which he possessed on the mainland of Scotland, and upon the refusal of the Norwegian earl he gave Caithness to Moddan, his sister's son, and directed him to assume the Norwegian title of Iarl. Moddan accordingly, in consequence of these directions, proceeded to the north, and raised an army in Sutherland for the purpose of taking possession of the district which had thus been bestowed upon him. But the Norwegians

who inhabited that district had no sooner heard of his arrival than they immediately assembled under Thorfinn, who was at that time in Caithness, and having been joined by a large force from the Highlands, commanded by Thorkell, the Scots found it necessary to retire, while Thorfinn took advantage of the opportunity to subjugate the districts of Sutherland and Ross, and to ravage the greater part of Scotland. Moddan in the mean time having returned to the king, and having reported to him the ill success of his expedition, Malcolm resolved upon making one great effort to reduce Thorfinn. For this purpose he collected a fleet of eleven ships, and the whole force of the south of Scotland, and dividing his army, he went himself in the fleet towards the north, while he sent Moddan by land with a strong detachment, with the intention of attacking Thorfinn on both sides at once; but scarcely had Malcolm reached the Pentland Firth when he was met by Thorfinn, who had in the mean time retired to the Orkneys, where he had collected a powerful fleet. After a long and fiercely contested engagement the Scottish fleet was completely dispersed, and the king of Scotland, having with difficulty escaped, fled to the Moray Firth, where he once more commenced to levy troops.

Nevertheless, he was speedily followed by Thorfinn, who, having been joined by Thorkell with troops raised by him in the Orkneys, also reached the Moray Firth; but having learnt, so soon as he

landed, that Moddan had marched to Caithness with the other division of the Scottish army, and was then at Thurso, he resolved to despatch Thorkell with a part of the army to attack Moddan, while he himself with the rest of his force remained to oppose Malcolm. Thorkell, aware that the inhabitants of Caithness were favourable to the Norwegians, proceeded with such expedition and secrecy that he succeeded in surprising Moddan in Thurso, and having set fire to the town, he slew the leader and completely dispersed his followers. Having collected additional forces in Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross, Thorkell returned towards the Moray Firth and joined Thorfinn in Moray.

Malcolm in the meantime had once more collected forces, both from the east and west of Scotland, his levies having even extended as far as Kintyre, and having also been joined by a number of Irish auxiliaries who had been invited over by Moddan, he determined to make a final effort for the expulsion of the Norwegians, and marched accordingly with this immense army towards the north in search of Thorfinn. He found the Norwegian earl not the less prepared to meet him, that in numbers he was far inferior. A battle took place between the two hostile races on the southern shore of the Beauly Firth; each party seeming resolved to peril their cause upon the result of this engagement; but the ferocity and determined valour of the Norwegians at length prevailed over the numbers and undis-

ciplined daring of the Scots, and Malcolm was totally defeated, himself killed, and his army almost destroyed. By this defeat the Scots were now left altogether without the means of resistance, and Thorfinn followed up his success by conquering the whole of Scotland as far as the Firth of Tay, and completely subjugating the inhabitants.

The Norwegian Saga gives a strong and powerful picture of the effects of this conquest: "Earl Thorfinn drove the scattered remnants of the Scottish army before him, and subjugated the whole country in his progress, even as far as the district of Fyfe. He then sent Thorkell with a part of the army home, but when the Scots, who had submitted to him, heard that the earl had sent some part of his army away, they attacked him, but unsuccessfully, for Earl Thorfinn no sooner perceived their treachery than he gathered his army together again and met them. The Scots did not attempt to defend themselves, but fled immediately to the woods and deserts. Then Earl Thorfinn, when he had driven the fugitives away, declared that he would burn and lay waste the whole country in revenge for their treachery. His men then spread over the whole conquered country, and burnt every hamlet and farm, so that not a cot remained. Every man that they found they slew, but the old men and women fled to the deserts and woods, and filled the country with lamentation. Some were driven before the Norwegians and made slaves.

"Thus says Arnor, the earl's skald:

" ' The dwellings were all destroyed,
When he burnt every where, (that day
Danger and death was not awanting,)
As among dry reeds the red flames
Sprung into the kingdom
Of the Scots. The Great
Slayer revenged himself
On the Scots. In one summer
Three times were they
Overcome by the Prince.'

"After this Earl Thorfinn returned to his ships, subjugating the country everywhere in his progress."[1]

Third Norwegian kingdom in the north of Scotland. A.D. 1034—1064.

The Norwegians thus obtained effectual possession of the greater part of the north of Scotland, and their kingdom, which by the talents and energy of Thorfinn they were enabled to retain for *thirty* years, was unparalleled in its extent and duration by any previous or subsequent conquest. Besides the Orkneys, which

[1] Orkneyinga Saga, Flatey Book.—Tighernac, Annals of Ulster.

It will be observed that the Author has here altogether departed from the generally received history, and that in place of Malcolm II., said to have reigned thirty years, he has placed *two* Malcolms of different families, the first of whom reigned twenty-six and the latter four years. This view he has adopted in consequence of finding the most remarkable coincidence between the Irish Annals and the Norse Sagas, both of which agree in these particulars.

was their original seat, their possessions in Scotland consisted now of the Hebrides and of nine of the great districts or earldoms of Scotland, which, as far as can be gathered from the Sagas, appear to have been those of Caithness, Ness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Garmoran, Buchan, Marr, and Angus; while to the Scots there remained nothing north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, except the districts of Fyfe, Strathern, Menteith, Gowry, and Lennox, with the two northern districts of Atholl and Argyll [1].

The effects of this conquest seem to have been more particularly felt by the *Scottish* portion of the population, and its immediate result appears to have been the complete extinction of the house of Kenneth Mac Alpin, which for so many generations had filled the Scottish throne, the extirpation of the greater part of the chiefs of the Scottish race, and the termination of that superiority and dominion which they had so long maintained in the Lowlands of Scotland.

But besides the portion of the country occupied by the Scots, a considerable part of the territories of the northern Picts remained unconquered by the Norwegians, while Thorfinn extended his conquests to the banks of the Firth of Tay, and while he effected the utter destruction of the Scottish possessions, even of those districts which he had not

[1] All the Norse Sagas are unanimous as to the extraordinary extent of Thorfinn's conquest.

overrun with his victorious troops, the district of Atholl and the greater part of Argyll was sufficiently protected by its mountain barriers from his power, and became now the only part of Scotland which could offer any resistance to his progress.

In addition to this, one of its most powerful chiefs had married the daughter of the last king, and his son, who thus added a hereditary right to the throne to the influence which he derived from his power, appears to have been proclaimed king without any opposition, and to have received the unanimous support of all who were still independent of the Norwegian yoke. In personal character Duncan was far from being well fitted for the difficult situation in which he was placed, but being the only chief of the northern Picts who remained unsubdued by the Norwegians, he was the most likely person to preserve the rest of Scotland from their grasp; and during the whole of his reign he appears to have been unmolested by Thorfinn in his circumscribed dominions. The Scots having thus enjoyed, during Duncan's reign, six years of repose, began to consider their strength sufficiently recruited to attempt the recovery of the extensive territories in the north which Thorfinn had conquered. Taking advantage accordingly of the temporary absence of Thorfinn, who was engaged with the greater part of his Norwegian force in an English expedition, Duncan advanced towards the north of Scotland, and succeeded in penetrating as far as the district of

Moray without encountering apparently any resistance. The Gaelic inhabitants of the north, however, who preferred remaining under the Norwegian yoke rather than submit to a chief of their own race whose title to the throne they could not admit, opposed his farther progress, and Macbeth, the Maormor of Moray, attacked him near Elgin, defeated his army, and slew the king himself. Macbeth im-
A.D. 1040. mediately took advantage of this success, and assisted by the Norwegian force which still remained in the country, he overran the whole of Scotland, and speedily made himself master of all that had remained unconquered by the Norwegians. The sons of Duncan were obliged to fly; the eldest took refuge at the court of England, while the second fled from the vengeance of Macbeth to the Hebrides, and surrendered to Thorfinn himself. Macbeth, with the sanction probably of the Earl of Orkney, assumed the title of King of Scotland, which he claimed in right of his cousin Malcolm, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Scots he maintained possession of the crown for a period of eighteen years.

Although Macbeth was a native chief and one of the Gaelic Maormors of the north, yet his conquest can only be considered with regard to its effects as a Norwegian conquest. He had previously been tributary to that people, and it was by their assistance principally that he became king of Scotland; so that at this period we may consider the whole coun

try as having been virtually under the dominion of the Norwegians: Thorfinn himself ruling over the northern districts, while with his concurrence Macbeth reigned in the southern half.

During the reign of Macbeth the adherents of the Atholl family made two several attempts to recover possession of the throne, but they were both equally unsuccessful. The first occurred in the year 1045, when Crinan, the father of Duncan, attacked Macbeth at the head of all the adherents of the family in Scotland; Crinan's defeat was total, and the slaughter very great; for in the concise words of the Irish Annalists, "In that battle was slain Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and many with him, viz. nine times twenty heroes." This defeat seems for the time to have completely extinguished Duncan's party in Scotland, and it was not till nine years afterwards that the second attempt was made. Malcolm Duncan's eldest son, who had taken refuge in England, obtained from the English king the assistance of a Saxon army, under the command of Siward, the Earl of Northumberland, but although Siward succeeded in wresting Lothian from Macbeth, and in placing Malcolm as king over it, he was unable to obtain any further advantage, and Macbeth still retained the kingdom of Scotland proper, while Malcolm ruled as king over Lothian until, four years afterwards, a more favourable opportunity occurred for renewing the enterprise. The son of the king of Norway, in the

A.D. 1045.

A.D. 1054.

course of one of the numerous piratical expeditions which were still undertaken by the Norwegians, had arrived at the Orkneys, and on finding the great state of power to which Thorfinn had raised himself, he proposed that they should join in undertaking an expedition having no less an object than the subjugation of the kingdom of England. To this proposal the enterprising Earl of Orkney at once acceded, and the two sea kings departed for the south with the whole Norwegian force which they could collect. It was not destined, however, that they should even land on the English coast, for their fleet appears to have been dispersed and almost destroyed in a tempest; such was probably at least the calamity which befel the expedition, as the words of the Irish annalist who alone records the event are simply, "but God was against them in that affair."

It appears that the king of England had no sooner become aware of the discomfiture of the threatened invasion of his territories, than he sent an English army into Scotland for the purpose of overthrowing the power of the Norwegians in that country, and of establishing Malcolm Kenmore on his father's throne; and in the absence of the Norwegians the Saxon army was too powerful for the Gaelic force of Macbeth to withstand. The English accordingly made themselves masters of the south of Scotland, and drove Macbeth as far north as Lumphanan, where he was overtaken and slain in battle. Upon the death of Macbeth, Lulach, the son of his cousin

Gillcomgain, succeeded him, but after maintaining a struggle with Malcolm for the short space of three months, he also was defeated and slain at Esse, in Strathbolgie. In consequence of this defeat, Malcolm Kenmore obtained, by the assistance of the English, quiet possession of the throne of Scotland, which his own power and talents enabled him to preserve during the remainder of his life. He was prevented, apparently by the return of Thorfinn, from attempting to recover any part of the northern districts which the Norwegian earl had subjugated, and consequently his territories consisted only of those southern districts which Macbeth had acquired by the defeat of his father Duncan.

A.D. 1058.

From the accession of Malcolm Kenmore to the death of Thorfinn, which took place six years after, the state of Scotland remained unaltered, and the country exhibited the remarkable spectacle of a Gaelic population, one half of which obeyed the rule of a Norwegian earl, while the other half was subdued by a prince of their own race at the head of a Saxon army.

## CHAPTER VI.

General history of the Highlands, from the accession of Malcolm Kenmore to the termination of the history of the Highlanders as a peculiar and distinct people, in the abolition of heritable jurisdictions and the introduction of sheep farming.

THE Norwegian kingdom of Scotland, which had lasted for thirty years, terminated with the death of Thorfinn in the year 1064; and notwithstanding its great extent and duration, and the important effects which it must have produced upon the population of the country, that kingdom has been most unaccountably passed over in silence by every native historian. The truth of its existence at the same time does not depend upon the authority of the Sagas alone, although that authority would in itself be sufficient to establish with certainty the occurrence of any event at this period; for the ancient Saxon historians, in narrating the events of Siward's campaign against Macbeth, expressly mention that he had to contend against an immense force of Scots and *Northmen*, and that in the battle which ensued, many of the Angles and of the *Danes* fell, distinctly

A.D. 1064.

shewing, that at this time the Danes must have possessed a considerable part of the country, and that Siward's expedition was directed against them as well as against the Scots. The extensive possessions of Thorfinn did not upon his death descend to his sons, but, with the exception of their original kingdom in the Orkneys, reverted to the native chiefs, who by hereditary right were entitled to rule over them. "Then many domains which the earl had conquered *fell off*, and their inhabitants sought the protection of those native chiefs who were territorially born[1] to rule over them," are the emphatic words of the Orkneyinga Saga; and there can be no question that that Saga alludes to the earldoms which Thorfinn had conquered in Scotland. This, therefore, is a passage of great importance for the history of the Highlands, for it proves clearly that when Thorfinn's death caused the dismemberment of his kingdom, the great districts of Scotland reverted to the descendants of the Gaelic chiefs who had formerly possessed them, and had a hereditary right to their acquisition, and, consequently, that the Norwegian conquest produced no permanent effect whatever upon the race originally in possession of these territories, or upon the chiefs of the Gaelic tribes in the north of Scotland.

On the death of Thorfinn the earldoms reverted to the native chiefs.

[1] The word odalborinn, here translated territorially born, has a much stronger signification, which cannot properly be expressed in English; it is "natus ad hæredium avitum, sc. recta linea a primo occupante."

Yet although the Norwegian kingdom did not produce any effect upon the succession of the native chiefs, it is nevertheless possible that a very great change may have taken place on the population of the different districts over which the native chiefs were again enabled to resume their wonted sway; and in estimating the probable extent of such a change, it will be necessary to keep in view that the effects of a Norwegian conquest were frequently very different, according to the nature of the conquered country. In some districts the ancient inhabitants were almost entirely driven out, the country became gradually colonized by Norwegians, and a Norwegian Iarl generally placed over it; while in others, where such a proceeding was more difficult, owing to the impervious nature of the country, the Norwegians usually contented themselves with plundering the district and exacting a tribute from its lord, leaving the ancient inhabitants otherwise in full possession of their territory.

It is plain that in the eastern and more level districts of Scotland, a Norwegian conquest of not less than thirty years' duration could produce no other effect than that of an extensive, and probably a permanent change in the population; and there can be little doubt that when, upon the death of Thorfinn, the districts occupied by him reverted to the descendants of the ancient possessors, the population must have been principally Norwegian, and that the Norse language had spread over that part of the country.

In the more mountainous and Highland districts, however, we are warranted in concluding that the effect must have been very different, and that the possession of the country by the Norwegians for thirty years could have exercised as little permanent influence on the population itself, as we are assured by the Saga it did upon the race of their chiefs.

Previously to this conquest the northern Gaelic race possessed the whole of the north of Scotland, from the western to the eastern sea, and the general change produced by the conquest must have been, that the Gael were for the first time confined within those limits which they have never since exceeded, and that the eastern districts became inhabited by that Gothic race, who have also ever since possessed them.

The population of the south of Scotland remained in the mean time partly Anglic and partly Gaelic, the former people possessing the whole of the country south of the Firth of Forth, while the latter occupied the remaining districts. Upon the death of Thorfinn the northern districts of the country fell once more under the rule of the native chiefs, and they appear to have refused to acknowledge Malcolm Kenmore's right, and to have chosen for themselves a king of their own, Donald M'Malcolm, who in all probability was a son or descendant of Malcolm M'Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, who had formerly been king of Scotland. During a period of twenty-one years, Malcolm appears to have been engaged in con-

stant attempts to reduce the northern districts under his dominion, and to have gradually extended his kingdom, until he at length succeeded in suppressing all opposition to his government. In 1070 we find him founding the Culdee establishment of Mortlach, in consequence of a victory obtained over his opponents. In 1077 the Saxon Chronicle informs us that Maolsnechtan, the Maormor of Moray, and son of that Lulach whom the northern faction had placed on the throne after the death of Macbeth, sustained a complete overthrow from Malcolm, and escaped with difficulty with the loss of his army and treasures; and finally, in 1085, we find recorded the violent deaths of Donald M'Malcolm, king of Alban, and Maolsnechtan M'Lulach, Maormor of Moray. After this date we do not trace the appearance of any further opposition to his power, and he had probably now effectually reduced the whole of Scotland under his dominion. During the remainder of Malcolm's reign he continued in possession of the whole of Scotland, with the exception probably of Caithness, and he does not appear to have been disturbed on his throne by any further opposition on the part of the northern chiefs. Although Malcolm had been placed on the throne by the assistance of an English army, there can be no question that his kingdom was in its constitution a purely Celtic one, and that with the exception of the Anglic inhabitants of Lothian and Norwegian population of the north Lowlands, his subjects were purely Celtic. On his death, how-

ever, which took place in the year 1093, the Celtic and the Saxon laws of succession came into direct opposition to each other; for according to the Celtic law, his brother Donald was entitled to the succession, while the Saxons, who had been mainly instrumental in placing Malcolm on the throne, would yield obedience to no sovereign but his sons, who, according to the principles of succession recognised by them, were alone entitled to inherit. In addition to this subject of division, the Gaelic portion of the population were irritated, because of the great influx of Saxons that had been introduced among them, and felt alarmed at the idea of being governed by a family who were in all respects, except that of birth,

A.D. 1093. Saxons. They accordingly proclaimed Donald Bane their king, and their power was still sufficiently great to enable them to succeed in placing him on the throne. Their success, however, was principally owing to the powerful assistance of Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, who was at that time in possession of the Western Isles. These islands he had reduced under his power in the last year of Malcolm Kenmore's reign, and as that prince was at that time preparing for his English expedition, he found it impossible to defend these remote parts of his kingdom, and was easily induced to consent to their occupation by the king of Norway. On his death, in 1093, Magnus had still remained with his fleet among the islands, and probably agreed to support Donald's claim to the throne, on condition

of his confirming his brother's grant. Donald having passed his previous life among the Gael, possessed all their dislike to the encroachments of foreigners, and in the spirit of that sentiment, his very first act was to expel all the English who had settled in the Lowlands under the protection of Malcolm. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the crown, for Duncan, the eldest son of his brother Malcolm, having applied to the king of England for assistance, received from him the aid of a numerous army of English and Normans, with which he advanced into Scotland, and succeeded in expelling Donald Bane. Notwithstanding the success which attended him in this enterprise, Duncan found it impossible, even with the assistance of his English auxiliaries, to preserve his hold in the Gaelic part of Scotland, and was in consequence obliged to enter into an agreement with the native chiefs, by which he purchased their support by the expulsion of the English who had accompanied him to Scotland. The Scots, however, had no sooner obtained the dismissal of the foreigners than they took advantage of it to attack and slay Duncan, and replace Donald Bane on the throne. From this it is plain that the whole of the Gaelic population were in the interest of Donald, whom they conceived to be their legitimate king. But the English king being determined not to spare any effort to place the family of Malcolm on the Scottish throne, again renewed the contest two years afterwards, by despatching Edgar Ætheling with a large

army, composed of Saxons and Normans, to effect that purpose. The Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland were unable to resist the invasion of so powerful an army, and Edgar having overcome Donald in battle, made him captive and placed his namesake, the son of Malcolm Kenmore, on the throne.

"Edgar, who was now the eldest surviving son of Malcolm Kenmore, was in a very different situation from either his father or his brother, for he was through his mother the undoubted heir of the old Saxon monarchy, and possessed a natural claim on the allegiance of the Anglic inhabitants of the country which had not belonged to the previous kings of Scotland. It was accordingly by the assistance of the Saxons alone that he was placed on the throne. The whole Gaelic population of the country appears to have been opposed to his claim. The hereditary possessions of the family which were in the Highlands were even enjoyed by the descendants of Donald Bane and Duncan, Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son, and during the reigns of Edgar and of his brother and successor, Alexander I., the laws, institutions, and forms of government were purely Saxon, while it is only on the accession of David I., who had previously possessed extensive baronies in England, that the Norman or feudal institutions were for the first time introduced into the country.

From the accession of Edgar, A.D. 1098, to the death of Alexander the First, A.D. 1124, the constitution and laws purely Saxon.

On the accession of Edgar those districts which

had formed part of Thorfinn's kingdom appear to have remained in the possession of the native chiefs, who had regained them on the fall of that kingdom; but the rest of the country, consisting of the territories on the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which the Scots had wrested from the southern Picts, and which had fallen to the royal house founded by Duncan, in addition to the whole of the country south of the Firths, became the absolute property of the king; and here we find the Saxon population and Saxon institutions principally established. In imitation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, this part of the country was divided into earldoms, which were bestowed upon members of the royal family; Saxon thanes were introduced over the whole country; sheriffs and sheriffdoms every where established; and thus, during the reigns of Edgar and Alexander I., the whole of Scotland, with the exception of what had formed the kingdom of Thorfinn, exhibited the exact counterpart of Saxon England, with its earls, thanes, and sheriffs, while the rest of the country remained in the possession of the Gaelic Maormors, who yielded so far to Saxon influence as to assume the Saxon title of earl.

Such was the termination of the Gaelic kingdom of Scotland; from this period the Gael ceased to be the dominant people in the country, and then commenced that long enduring struggle between the opposing races, for independence on the one part, and supremacy on the other, which continued more

or less to agitate the country, until finally terminated on the disastrous field of Culloden in 1746.

It appears, therefore, to have been during the reign of Edgar that the population of Scotland assumed that appearance which it has ever since exhibited. The Norwegian kingdom of Thorfinn had, as we have seen, excluded the Gael from the eastern and more level part of the country north of the Tay, and had colonised these districts with a Norwegian race. The Saxon conquest under Edgar, for such it was in its effects, now confined them altogether to the mountainous districts of the country, and peopled the remainder of the Lowlands with Saxons and Normans. The two Teutonic races who were now placed contiguous to each other, and together occupied the whole of the Lowlands, gradually amalgamated and formed that Gothic race which now occupies that portion of the country, while the Gael were confined within those limits to which they have ever since been restricted.

During the whole of Edgar's reign, the Highlanders do not appear to have made any attempt to disturb him in the possession of the crown; but in the beginning of that of his successor, Alexander I., the district of Moray had so far recovered from the blow which Malcolm Kenmore's conquest of the north had inflicted upon it, as to enable them to offer considerable opposition to the government.

In this the Highlanders appear to have been instigated by Ladman, a son of Donald Bane, who

probably desired to revenge his father's death, and attempted to seize the person of the king, by a sudden and unexpected attack upon him while at his palace of Invergourie.

Alexander, however, succeeded in escaping from their clutches, and with equal promptitude and boldness he summoned as many of his vassals as were within reach, attacked the Highlanders, unprepared for this prompt retaliation, and pursued them across the Spey into Moray, where he laid waste and devastated the country.

> "Fra that day hys legys all
> Oysid hym Alysandyr the Fers to call."

And so effectually did he succeed in crushing the inhabitants of Moray, that they were compelled to put to death Ladman, the son of Donald Bane, who had instigated them to the attempt in which they were unsuccessful[1]. During the remainder of the reign of Alexander, and the whole of that of David I., the Highlanders acquiesced in their occupation of the throne, being now, even according to the Celtic law, the legitimate heirs of Malcolm Kenmore; but on the death of David I., the two laws of succession were again opposed to each other, for, according to the feudal law, Malcolm, David's grandson, was the true heir of the throne, while the Highlanders recognised in that character William, termed the Boy of

Insurrections in favour of the descendants of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Kenmore.

[1] Annals of Ulster, under 1116. Winton and Fordun.

Egremont, the son of William Fitz Duncan, and grandson of Duncan, who was Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son. The Boy of Egremont was supported in his claim by no less than seven earls, of whom the principal were the earls of Stratherne, Ross, and Orkney; and on the return of Malcolm IV. from France, where he had followed the king of England, they attacked him in the citadel of Perth.

Notwithstanding the powerful support which the Boy of Egremont had, this attempt was doomed to be as unsuccessful as all the others made by his family. Malcolm appears to have acted with a promptitude worthy of his predecessor, Alexander the Fierce, and

> "Rycht manlyly
> Soone skalyd all that cumpany
> And tuk and slue."

A.D. 1160. The claim of the descendants of William Fitz Duncan upon the throne was now taken up by Donald Bane, who asserted himself to be his son, and as usual he obtained the support of the northern chiefs. For seven years he held out the earldoms of Moray and Ross against William the Lion, plundering the rest of the country far and wide; and it was only in consequence of his being acci-

A.D. 1187. dentally met by the royal troops, when accompanied by few of his followers, and slain, that the king succeeded in suppressing the insurrection. The attempt was resumed twenty-

four years afterwards by his son Guthred, who kept possession of the north of Scotland for some time, and baffled every attempt on the part of the king to take him, until he was treacherously betrayed into the hands of the Earl of Buchan and beheaded. Another attempt was made on the death of William the Lion and accession of his son Alexander II., by Donald, a brother of Guthred, in conjunction with a claimant to the earldom of Moray, but this insurrection was speedily suppressed by the Earl of Ross, a new and powerful ally of the government; and the same fate attended the last effort made by this family to obtain possession of the throne, which they conceived to be their right, six years afterwards. Gilliescop M'Scolane, a descendant of William Fitz Duncan, who at first obtained a temporary success, was betrayed and put to death with his sons. He appears to have been the last of his race, and thus terminated these singular attempts to place a rival family on the throne of Scotland, which lasted during a period of upwards of one hundred years, and which exhibits so extraordinary a proof of the tenacity and perseverance with which the Highlanders maintained their peculiar laws of succession and the claims of a hereditary title to the throne [1].

A.D. 1211.

A.D. 1214.

A.D. 1222.

During the whole of this period the Highlanders,

[1] The account of these insurrections is taken from Winton, Fordun, and the Chronicle of Melrose.

of whom the inhabitants of the district of Moray were the principal, did not cease to assert the claim of the lineal descendant of Malcolm Kenmore to the throne of Scotland; and in all their insurrections they were supported by the greater part of the northern chiefs, as well as by the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, whose power, however, as well as his territories, had sustained considerable diminution. It was, nevertheless, in vain for them to contend against the increasing power of the Saxon kings of the family of Malcolm, and the great force which, by the assistance of the Norman and Saxon barons, they were enabled to bring into the field against them. Accordingly, each insurrection was successively subdued with increasing loss to the inhabitants of Moray, until at length, in the year 1161, upon the ill success of the attempt to place William of Egremont on the throne, Malcolm IV., after a violent struggle, finally succeeded in subjecting the country; he completely crushed the family which had been hitherto known as possessors of the title of earls of Moray, and bestowed that dignity upon the earls of Mar.

In the mean time the earls of Ross had been gradually establishing themselves in that power and influence which had formerly been possessed by the chiefs of Moray, and the defeat of the last attempt of the inhabitants of that district to place the descendant of their ancient earls in possession of his inheritance, as well as one of the rival race of Mac

Williams, upon the throne by Ferehard, Earl of Ross, in the year 1215, completely established their power. At this time the Western Isles were in possession of the Norwegians; the line of the ancient earls of Atholl had shortly before become extinct, and consequently there was not any one to dispute the supremacy which the earls of Ross now assumed in the north of Scotland. But a considerable change took place in the Highlands, upon the cession of the Isles by the Norwegians to the king of Scotland in the year 1266, as that event was the means of bringing one of the most powerful clans in the Highlands under subjection to the king; besides the earldom of Ross, the only other territory in which the descendants of the ancient Maormors remained in full and undisturbed possession of the power and dignity which their ancestors held, was the district of Dala or Argyll, the male line of the ancient Maormors or earls having universally failed in all the other Highland districts. Their several dignities and power had passed into the hands of Norman barons, and their dependent tribes had separated into a number of small and independent clans, who, besides having to oppose the tyranny and encroachments of these barons, were at constant feud with each other, either for the nominal title of chief, or for some other cause. Such a state of matters was peculiarly favourable for the introduction of Saxon laws and of Saxon domination into the country, and as a natural consequence, the resistance to these novel-

Cession of the Isles, A.D. 1266.

ties, which in other circumstances would have been general among the Gael, now fell entirely upon the single great chief who still possessed any considerable power in the Highlands, and who was thus driven into constant opposition to the government. The cession of the Isles thus brought the powerful clan of the Macdonalds into the field, and their having so lately enjoyed a state of regal independence, with but a nominal submission to the king of Norway, disposed them the less to yield a ready obedience to the Scottish monarch. Had the Macdonalds been a united clan, they would have had little difficulty in compelling the earls of Ross to submit to their authority, and with them to have presented a powerful opposition to the government, but the Highland law of succession had produced its usual effect over their extensive territories, and the clan being divided into several rival branches, they were able to do little more than merely to hold their ground against the earls of Ross. And as the jealousy and hereditary enmity between the two great tribes of Ross and Argyll was too great to allow them to unite together in any object, the government consequently experienced but little difficulty in effecting its object of overawing the Highland clans, and compelling the adoption of the feudal law.

The extinction of some of the branches of the Macdonalds, and the forfeiture and utter extermination of one of its principal branches in the wars of

Bruce and Baliol, at length threw the whole power and force of that great tribe into the hands of the lords of the Isles, who accordingly began now to present an alarming aspect to the government. The earldom of Ross, too, had at this time shared the fate of the other Highland earldoms, and had become extinct, while the honours and territories fell into the possession of a Norman baron; so that it was only by the exercise of the greatest foresight and prudence on the part of government that the enmity between the Gael and Saxons was prevented from breaking out into open hostilities, until at length a circumstance occurred to bring down upon the country the storm of Gaelic fury which had so long been dreaded. That event was brought about from the male line of the earls of Ross having once more failed, and the lord of the Isles, who had married the heiress of the title, immediately claimed the earldom as an appanage to his former power. It was at once perceived by government, that however undeniable this claim might be, to admit it would be to concentrate the whole power which the Gael still possessed collectively in the person of one chief, and that by means of that union he would become so formidable an opponent, as to render the result of any struggle which might occur between the two races, a matter of considerable doubt. The government therefore resolved to oppose the claim of the lord of the Isles by every means in its power, and as a pretext for doing so, a fictitious claim to the title was raised in

the person of the son of the governor himself. The lord of the Isles flew to arms in order to vindicate his right, and that struggle was commenced between the government and these powerful lords, which in all probability would have been successful on the part of the Gael, had it not been for the energy and military talent of King James I., and which was not brought to a conclusion till the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles in 1493.

Forfeiture of the lord of the Isles, A.D. 1493.

From the extinction of this powerful dynasty may be dated the fall of the Highland clans, who now rapidly declined both in their political power and internal condition. By the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, and his subsequent death without lawful issue, the sole remaining family of the great Highland chiefs became extinct, and the country, which had hitherto been in the possession of these few great chiefs, was now occupied by a number of small clans, of which the more considerable had become disunited among themselves; feuds arose among them every where, chiefly on the subject of the now nominal dignity of chief, and the whole of the Highlands became a scene of disorder, internal warfare, and bloodshed.

The strict, vigorous, and, considering the state of the people, the beneficial government of the great chiefs was gone, while the power of the royal government had not yet extended far beyond the Highland line, as the boundary between the Highland and Lowland

portions of Scotland was denominated, and the system of clanship, which in its perfect state was the only one at all compatible with the peculiar condition of the Highlanders, and the mode of life which the nature of their country necessarily obliged them to follow, was, when broken in upon and amalgamated with feudal principles, singularly ill adapted to improve their condition. What the dissension among the Highland clans, and the extinction of their great families had commenced, was by the artful and designing policy of the Argyll family completed. By good fortune originally, and subsequently by well-judged policy, the family of Campbell had gradually arisen from the condition of petty chiefs in Argyllshire to that of powerful barons. Their only opponents in that quarter had been the lords of the Isles; the extinction of that family now afforded them a favourable opportunity of extending their power which was not neglected, and a succession of talented and crafty statesmen, secretly and steadily pursuing the same policy, soon enabled them to attain their object. The general line of policy pursued by these earls was, by devising means to incite the different clans in their neighbourhood to rebellion and acts of aggression, and when these proceedings had attracted the attention of government towards them, the Earl of Argyll made offer of his services to reduce the turbulent clans to obedience, upon certain terms. Should government, however, upon any occasion,

despatch another person for that purpose, the expedition was certain to have an unsuccessful issue, and the council of state found itself under the necessity of accepting of Argyll's offer; so that the affair generally terminated in the unwary clans finding themselves betrayed by the very person who had instigated them to acts of rebellion, and that additional power consequently devolved upon the Argyll family.

Although the Highland clans were now reduced to such a state of anarchy and disorder, they were still powerful enough, when united, to shake the stability of the government. The frequent attempts which they made to replace the descendants of the lords of the Isles on the Highland throne of their ancestors, will be mentioned in another place. But in no instance did the system of clanship manifest its extraordinary influence in such strength as in the rapid but brilliant campaigns of Montrose, when the Scottish army marched into England to assist the parliament in their struggle, and Montrose endeavoured, by raising the Highland clans, to make a diversion in favour of the king in the north of Scotland. He was, upon that occasion, promptly and cheerfully joined by the Highlanders, who entertained an hereditary respect for the descendant of so many kings, and whose principles also led them to support the hereditary succession to the crown. No person was better acquainted with Highland warfare, or more able to make an advan-

Wars of Montrose.

tageous use of the peculiar qualities of that race, than the Marquis of Montrose; and accordingly, with a force which at first did not exceed 1500 men, he gained five successive victories over the troops sent against him by the Scottish parliament, and finally, by the last victory at Kilsyth, found himself in possession of the country. There is little doubt that Montrose could now have placed his royal master on the throne, had it not been for the inveterate adherence of the Highlanders to their ancient practice, which, as usual, rendered any permanent advantage which they might have been able to derive from their victory altogether nugatory; for, unaccustomed to a regular campaign having an ultimate object in view, or, in fact, to any other species of warfare than that of their own predatory incursions, of which the object was plunder alone, they were in the habit of returning to their homes after every battle, to secure the spoil they had obtained; and thus Montrose's army gradually melted away, until he found himself with even fewer men than when he commenced the campaign, and obliged to forego all the advantages he might have derived from his brilliant progress. Nevertheless, he unfortunately determined to advance with the small force which remained to him, and without the assistance of the clans, by whose aid he had been able to do so much, and the defeat which he sustained at Philliphaugh at once neutralized the effects of his previous success. Nor

was he again able to redeem the ground he had lost, although he succeeded in making his escape to the Highlands. On the death of Charles I., his son, Charles II., who was determined to make a last effort in Scotland before concluding a treaty with the Presbyterian party, induced Montrose to attempt again to rouse the Highland clans, and the unfortunate issue of this adventure is well known: Montrose was defeated at Invercharron in Rossshire, and soon thereafter, by the treachery of Macleod of Ascent, delivered up to the Covenanters, who speedily revenged the many terrors he had caused them, by his death on the scaffold.

After this the Highlands were completely subdued by Cromwell, who compelled the principal clans to submit to his authority, and to secure their obedience he built several fortresses and garrisoned them with English troops. Subsequently, however, they were called forth from their mountain districts, and from the prosecution of their internal feuds, to assist the Earl of Lauderdale in carrying through his oppressive proceedings against the gentry of the western counties of Scotland, where they were long after remembered under the denomination of the Highland host.

The revolution which placed the Prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain, again called the Highlanders forth to attempt the restoration of that family for whom they had already effected so

much, and they once more found themselves in arms under a leader as fully able to guide their energies as Montrose had been. Bearing the same name, and with a character as enterprising as his illustrious predecessor, Dundee was soon at the head of 3000 Highlanders, and if his career of victory had not been arrested at the outset by his death after the battle of Killiecranky, he would probably have effected his object. His death left no one of sufficient energy to follow out the enterprise, and the fruits of their victory were accordingly lost. The Highland chiefs had now so frequently taken up arms in behalf of the Stuart family, that they began to feel themselves in a manner identified with the cause, and from this period they appear to have kept up a close correspondence with the exiled court in France. Their sons were frequently sent to be educated in that country, and thus their devotion to the cause of hereditary right was strengthened by personal attachment to the individuals of the family which had been driven from the throne; more especially as the proceedings of the government towards the clans were little calculated to conciliate their attachment. At one time they were persecuted with unexampled severity, and at others their honour insulted by attempts to buy them off from their adherence to the exiled family. They spurned these offers with disdain, while the severities but irritated

Battle of Killiecranky.

them the more, and the massacre of Glencoe has left a stain on the memory of King William which will not soon be forgotten.

Insurrection of 1715.

The period now approached when they were once more to raise the Highland standard in favour of the Stuarts, and the unconciliating manners and the mistaken policy of George I. hastened the event, which for some time previous had been in contemplation. The Highlanders, to the amount of nearly 15,000 men, assembled in the year 1715, at the instigation of the Earl of Mar. Under such leaders as either Montrose or Dundee there could not be a moment's doubt as to the immediate result of a demonstration so powerful as this; but what either of these great leaders could with half the numbers have effected, the military incapacity and indecision of their self-constituted commander prevented them from achieving. In this ill-fated attempt we see how unavoidably the mismanagement and obstinacy of one individual may disarm the otherwise resistless energy of such a band, and prevent its success, even where no appearance of opposition existed adequate to resist its progress. A brave, and in this instance misguided people, became exposed to the vengeance of a vindictive government, too seriously alarmed to be much disposed to exercise forbearance towards them. Prompt measures accordingly were immediately taken, effectually to subdue the Highlanders. An act was passed to strip them of their arms; an officer of skill and expe-

rience was sent to examine the state of the country, and in consequence of his report, means were taken to open up the Highland districts, and render them more accessible to English troops, by means of military roads carried through all the principal districts. The estates of those engaged in the insurrection were forfeited; independent companies of Highlanders, favourable to the established government, were raised to secure the peace of the country, and garrisons of English soldiers were stationed in the different Highland forts. But before any permanent effect could result from these measures, another opportunity had presented itself for the warlike and loyal spirit of the clans again to burst forth into open insurrection; and on this occasion they certainly had not to complain of having to range themselves under the banner of an unenterprising leader. It seemed, indeed, as if the Highland clans, which were now rapidly approaching the termination of their independence, and that royal family whose unhappy fate had so repeatedly called forth their devoted exertions in its favour, were not to fall without exhibiting together one more splendid effort, the brilliancy of which, and the near approach which they made to success, should create universal astonishment.

Insurrection of 1745.

It was in the month of July, 1745, that the son of James, styling himself Third of England, Prince Charles Edward, made his unexpected appearance on the west coast of Scotland, raised the standard of revolt in Glenfinan, and was

in the course of a few days joined by some 1500 clansmen. With this insignificant force he boldly set forward to assert his right to the British crown, his strength daily and rapidly increasing until it augmented to about 5,000 men. But the ardour of his disposition, and that of his devoted followers, compensated for the want of numerical force, and he urged his headlong progress with a degree of success of which history affords few examples; after defeating a greatly superior force of regular troops at Preston Pans, he penetrated with his small army into the very heart of a strong and populous country, nor suspended his progress until within ninety miles of the metropolis of England. Circumstances had rendered some space for deliberation now necessary, and, considering the very inadequate character of their resources, to enable them for any length of time to maintain their ground in the midst of an enemy's country, the only chance of success seemed to be, in resolving at all hazards to push on to London, and under the walls of the metropolis to dispute the pretensions of the reigning monarch to the throne. But, unhappily for their cause, the confidence of the Scottish levies had rapidly declined in proportion as they found themselves removed to a distance from their native hills; conflicting opinions began to prevail, the prudence of timely retreat was urged upon the prince, and his reluctant assent to that disheartening measure finally attained. It is not my object here to detail the

events of this romantic enterprise; suffice it to say, that even in the discouragement of retreat, the gallantry and characteristic hardihood of the clansmen were conspicuous; they defeated the king's troops at Falkirk, but every hope of ultimate success was finally extinguished on the disastrous field of Culloden.

The government were now too painfully aware of the formidable character of the Highlanders in arms, wild and undisciplined as they were, and of the constancy of their loyal attachment to the exiled house of Stuart, not to adopt the most severe measures to crush their spirit, and the universal alarm which their progress had created throughout the kingdom, was too great to be forgotten, when the opportunity of revenge at length presented itself. Every atrocity which it is possible to conceive an army, smarting under a sense of previous discomfiture and disgrace, capable of inflicting, was for some time committed on the unfortunate Highlanders; their peaceful glens were visited with the scourge of a licentious soldiery let loose upon the helpless inhabitants, and every means was taken to break up the peculiar organization and consequent power of the Highland clans. The disarming act which had been passed after the insurrection of the year 1715 was now carried into rigid execution; and with a view to destroy as much as possible any distinctive usages and peculiarities of this primeval race, and thus to efface their nationality, an act was

passed proscribing the use of their ancient garb. The indignity inflicted by this act was perhaps more keenly felt by the Highlanders, attached in no ordinary degree to their ancient customs, than any of the other measures resorted to by the English government, but at the same time it must be admitted that it effected the object contemplated in its formation, and that more was accomplished by this measure in destroying the nationality and breaking up the spirit of the clansmen, than by any of the other acts. The system of clanship was also assailed by an act passed in the year 1748, by which heritable jurisdictions were abolished throughout Scotland, and thus the sanction of law was removed from any claim which Highland chiefs or barons might in future be disposed to make upon the obedience or services of their followers.

Abolition of heritable jurisdictions.

The general effect of these enactments was altogether to change the character of the Highlanders as a nation; their long cherished ideas of clanship gradually gave way under the absence and ruin of so many of their chiefs, while, with the loss of their peculiar dress, and the habitual use of arms, they also lost their feelings of independence. But what was left unaccomplished by the operation of these penal acts, was finally completed by the skill and policy of the earl of Chatham, who, by levying regiments in the Highlands for the service of the government in Canada, rendered the hardihood, fidelity, and martial spirit, so eminently character-

istic of the Gael, subservient to the interest of government, to which, when in opposition, it had been so formidable, at the same time that "the absence of the most inflammable part of a superabundant population, greatly diminished the risk of fresh disturbances."

Thus terminated the existence of the Scottish Highlanders as a peculiar, and in some degree, an independent nation; and it is remarkable to find their fall brought about by their exertions in the cause of those princes whose ancestors had striven so long and so hard to crush that very spirit to which they were beholden for the last support. But if these acts of the government thus destroyed the organization of the Highland clans, and brought the country into a state of peace from one of almost constant strife and bloodshed, it was left for the Highland chiefs themselves, by an act as unjustifiable in respect to humanity, as it was inexpedient as an act of policy, to give the last blow to the rapid decline of the Highland population, and to affect their individual comfort and welfare, as by the former measures the government had affected their independence and national spirit. An idea was unhappily adopted by Highland proprietors, that a much larger rent might be obtained for their possessions, now in the occupancy generally of small farmers and the herds of black cattle which they reared, were they converted into grazings for sheep: a plan, for the accomplishment of which it became

Introduction of sheep farming.

necessary to throw a number of the small farms into one, and thus to divide the districts into single sheep farms of great extent, which, of course, required for that purpose to be cleared of the population now become superfluous. This formed the climax to the process of deterioration which had been gradually reducing the condition of the poor Highlanders, in proportion as their chiefs advanced in the modern constitution of society. For the Highland tacksman who was originally co-proprietor of his land with the chiefs, became by a series of changes, first vassal, then hereditary tenant, and lastly tenant at will, while the law of the country now declared the chiefs to be absolute proprietors of the lands occupied by their clan. When, accordingly, the first prospect of this advantage opened to them, the chiefs had no hesitation in violating the relation which subsisted between the Highland proprietor and his tacksman, and in proceeding to depopulate the country for the sake of their increased rents. The change produced by this system was very great, and to adopt the words of General Stewart, in his work on the state of the Highlands, "It has reduced to a state of nature lands that had long been subjected to the plough, and which had afforded the means of support to a moral, happy, and contented population; it has converted whole glens and districts, once the abode of a brave, vigorous, and independent race of men, into scenes of desolation; it has torn up families which seemed rooted, like Alpine plants in the soil

of their elevated regions, and which from their habits and principles appeared to be its original possessors, as well as its natural occupiers, and forced them thence, pennyless and unskilful, to seek a refuge in manufacturing towns, or in a state of helpless despair to betake themselves to the wilds of a far distant land. The spirit of speculation has invaded those mountains which no foreign enemy could penetrate, and expelled a brave people whom no intruder could subdue."

Experience has not justified the policy of this change; and the Highland proprietors now find themselves in a worse position than they would have been if the old system had been suffered to continue; while the country remains a most disheartening spectacle of desolation and distress, exhibiting the wreck of that singular and interesting people who have inhabited the same rugged territory from the earliest dawn of history, but whose peculiarity of manners and simplicity of character are now rapidly disappearing.

## CHAPTER VII.

Constitution and Laws of the Highlanders.—Clanship.—Law of Succession.—Law of Marriage and Gradation of Ranks.

THE interest which the Gaelic population in Scotland has always excited, is to be attributed in a great measure to the peculiarity of their character and of their manners. Situated in the heart of civilization, and of continued improvement in the form of society, they have for centuries exhibited the strange contrast of a mountain people retaining their habits of predatory warfare and pastoral occupation with singular tenacity, in spite of the advancement of society around them; while speaking a peculiar language, and wearing a peculiar dress, they possessed in a very great degree the imaginative character and rude virtues of a simple and uncultivated race. In a work so limited as the present, it would be impossible to present any thing like a complete view of a subject of this nature, and as the great object of the writer throughout has been to give a correct and authentic, and consequently a concise, detail of the history of this singular nation, although perhaps at the expense of the amenity of his style, and in op-

position, to the prejudices of his countrymen, he will, in the following remarks, convey merely a short sketch of the principal peculiarities of their manners, substituting a true picture, derived from the most authentic facts which can still be collected, in place of the loose declamation which that subject has hitherto in general called forth.

In treating of this matter it will be necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to consider it under three different branches; the first comprehending their government, laws, and distinction of ranks, the second relating to every thing connected with their religion, superstitions, and music, and the last branch consisting of their domestic manners, by which may be understood their ordinary mode of life, their dress, arms, &c.

Distinction between the Highland and the feudal systems.

The great peculiarity which distinguishes the form of government and society among the nations of Celtic origin from that of all other European nations, is certainly the existence among these tribes of what is generally termed the *patriarchal* system of government; and this system had one remarkable property, that it occasionally exhibited features to all appearance identic with the feudal and other forms of society, although in point of fact these apparently similar features were produced by very different causes, and were based on very different principles. Thus, although most of the great nations which formed the original inhabitants of Europe were divided into a number of tribes

acknowledging the rule of an hereditary chief, and thus exhibiting an apparently similar constitution, yet it was community of origin which constituted the simple tie that united the Celtic tribe with its chief, while the tribes of the Goths and other European nations were associated together for the purposes of mutual protection or convenience alone; the Celtic chief was the hereditary lord of all who were descended of the same stock with himself, while the Gothic baron was the hereditary proprietor of a certain tract of land, and thence entitled to the service and obedience of all who dwelt upon that land.

In no Celtic nation in which the patriarchal system has remained, is this property of that system so very remarkable as the case of the Highlanders of Scotland. In some instances their system of government has exhibited features so nearly allied to the feudal, as even to have led many to assert that that system has at all times existed among them, while in other instances their constitution and laws are altogether opposed to the principles of the feudal law. As an example of this apparent similarity we may mention the system of clanship, which has not unfrequently been mistaken for a modification of the feudal jurisdiction, while nothing can exhibit a stronger opposition than the laws of succession and marriage according to the two systems. The natural consequence of this has been, that in the former instance the feudal law was introduced into the Highlands with so little difficulty,

Clanship.

that at a very early period we find instances of lands in the Highlands being held by a feudal tenure, and the chiefs exercising a feudal jurisdiction; while in the latter, the struggle between the two systems was long and doubtful. Many years have not passed since the feudal law of succession and marriage came into general use in the Highlands, and to this source may be traced most of the controversies which have arisen among many of the Highland families regarding succession and chieftainship.

The system of clanship in the Highlands, though possessing this apparent resemblance, was in principle very different indeed from the feudal system as observed in the rest of the country. In the one case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the whole clan; in the other, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and for their portion of which they were bound to render military service. In the one, the Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they possessed; in the other, the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, of whatever race they might individually be. The one dignity, in fact, was personal, while the other was territorial; yet these two systems, so different in principle, were still in appearance and effect almost identic. Both systems exhibited the appearance of a subject in

possession of unlimited power within his territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous band of followers, over whom they held a power of life and death, and whose defection they could resist with fire and sword. Both were calculated to raise the power of the turbulent chiefs and nobles of the period, and to diminish that of the crown,—to retard the operations of justice throughout the country, and to impede the progress of improvement. The one system was peculiarly adapted to a people in the hunting and pastoral state of society—to a people the nature of whose country prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, and whose manners must consequently remain the same, however much their mental state might be susceptible of improvement. The other system was necessary to a population occupying a fertile country, possessing but a rude notion of agriculture, and obliged to defend their possessions from aggression on all sides. But neither of the two were at all compatible with a nation in a state of civilization, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property an equal administration of justice.

The feudal system, so far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, was easily introduced, *to appearance*, in the Highlands; but although the principal Highland chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances, to hold their lands of the crown or of the Lowland barons, yet in reality the Celtic system of clanship remained

in full force among the native Highlanders and the chieftains of the smaller branches, who were not brought into direct contact with the government until a very late period. The peculiarities of the Highland clan are no where better described than in the Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his friend in London, written about the year 1730; and his remarks are peculiarly valuable, as being the observations of a stranger; so that I cannot omit quoting the passage.

"The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch from whence they sprang; and in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence one to another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as

inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. *This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands in old times were the possessions of their ancestors.*

" The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of the name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates. On the other hand the chief, even against the laws, is to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an inno-

cent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began."

To this concise and admirable description, it is unnecessary to add any thing farther.

Law of succession.

In no instance, perhaps, is the difference between the Highland and the feudal laws, both in principle and in appearance, so very remarkable as in the law of succession. This subject has been hitherto very much misunderstood, which has produced a degree of vagueness and uncertainty in all that has hitherto been written on the history of the Highland clans, although it is of the greatest consequence for that history, that a correct idea should be entertained of the precise nature of the Highland law of succession, as well as of the distinction between that law and the feudal. It has generally been held, that the law of succession in the Highlands was the same with the feudal, and whenever supposed anomalies have been perceived in their succession, it has at once been assumed, that, in these cases, the proper rule had been departed from, and that the succession of their chiefs was in some degree elective. We frequently find it asserted, "that ideas of succession were so *loose* in the Highlands that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and *even* to sons." But nothing can be more erroneous than this opinion, or more inconsistent with the character of the Highlanders than to suppose that they ever, in any degree, admitted of election. For an attentive ex-

amination of the succession of their chiefs when influenced by the feudal law will shew, that they adhered strictly to a system of hereditary succession, although that system was very different from the feudal one. The Highland law of succession requires to be considered in reference to two subjects:—first, as to the succession to the chiefship and to the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and secondly, as to succession to property or to the land itself. The former is generally termed the law of Tanistry, and the latter that of Gavel. The first of these is the most important to be ascertained, for when the feudal law was introduced, it became in fact the succession to the property also, while the last was too much opposed to feudal principles to be allowed to exist at all, even in a modified state. The oldest and most complete specimen of the Highland law of Tanistry which remains, is to be found in the case of the succession of the Maormors of Moray, and the peculiarities of this system will appear from a consideration of the history of that family. In the first place, the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, which is proved by the fact, that although Malcolm, Maormor of Moray, and afterwards king of Scotland, had a daughter who was married to Sigurd, earl of Orkney, and Thorfinn, earl of Orkney, Sigurd's son was consequently his feudal representative. Yet he was succeeded in his possessions by his brother Gillcomgain. In the second place, the great pecu-

Tanistry.

liarity which distinguished the Highland from the feudal laws of succession was that, in the former, the brothers invariably succeeded before the sons. This arose partly from an anxiety to avoid minorities in a nation dependent upon a competent leader in war, but principally from the difference in principle between the two systems. In the feudal system it was succession to property, and the nearest relation to the last feudal proprietor was naturally considered feudal heir, while in the Highland system, on the other hand, it was succession to the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder of the tribe, and thus it was the relation to the common ancestor through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession; the brother being considered as one degree nearer to the original founder of the race than the son [1]

[1] The principle upon which the Tanistic succession is founded was recognised as the old law of succession in Scotland as early as the competition between Bruce and Baliol for the crown:—Bruce's third pleading was, "that the manner of *succession* to the kingdom of Scotland in former times made for his claim, for that the *brother, as being nearest in degree*, (ratione proximitatis in gradu,) was wont to be preferred to the son of the deceased king. Thus, when Kenneth M'Alpine died, his brother Donald was preferred to his son Constantine: thus, when Constantine died, his brother Edh was preferred to his son Donald; and *thus the brother of Malcolm III. reigned after him to the exclusion of the son of Malcolm III.*"

Baliol answered, "That if the brother was preferred to the

An attentive examination of the most ancient and purest instances of Highland succession, will sufficiently shew, that the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, as a right, and according to a fixed rule, and not, as has been generally supposed, that the succession of a brother before a son was any departure from the established rule of succession or produced by a species of election. This is in no case so strikingly exemplified as in the succession of the Maormors of Moray: Maolbride, the first known Maormor, is succeeded by his brother Finlay, Finlay by Malcolm, *son* of Maolbride, and Malcolm by his brother Gillcomgain. But further, in the third place, the Highland law of Tanistry had still another peculiarity, which was this, that if the person who ought to succeed was under age, his nearest male relation succeeded and retained the chiefship during his life, although the proper heir had in the mean time attained majority. This will appear from a curious passage in a chronicle of considerable antiquity, which informs us, that there was an ancient law by which "in cases that the children of the deceissand suld not have passit the aige of

son of the king the example proved against Bruce, for that the son, not the brother, was the nearest in degree." Hailes adds the following just remark:—"Here Baliol attempted to answer Bruce's argument without understanding it. *Bruce supposed an ancestor to be the common stock, and the degrees to be the persons descending from that stock. Hence the king's brother stood in one degree nearer the common stock than the king's son.*"

fourteen ziers, that he of the *blude wha wes nerrest*, beand worthie and capable, suld be electcd to reign dureing his lyffe, without prejudice of the richteous heretouris whan they atteinit the parfite aige." From this passage we learn, that fourteen was the ancient Highland period of majority, and that if the lawful heir had not attained that age, then the nearest relation succeeded for the period of his life, after which it returned to the proper heir. This remarkable property was also illustrated in the succession of the Maormors of Moray: for although Gillcomgain had a son Lulach, he is succeeded by Macbeth, the son of his uncle Finlay, and therefore his nearest heir failing his own son, and after Macbeth's death Lulach succeeded him.

Every instance of Highland succession which has hitherto been thought to have proceeded from loose ideas on this subject, will be found upon examination to accord with this system; and it is manifest that the law of Tanistry, although opposed in a remarkable degree to the feudal notions of later days, yet proceeds naturally from the principles of the patriarchal constitution of society, and was in fact peculiarly adapted to a people whose habits of warfare required at all times a competent chief to lead them. But if the law of Tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, still more so was the law

Gavel.

of Gavel, or the succession to property among the Highlanders. The feudal law implied the right of the eldest son not only to the

superiority over the rest of the family, but also to the whole of the property itself, and the younger branches were driven to seek advancement in war or in other courses of life. In the Highlands it was quite different, for there the property of the clan was by the law of Gavel divided in certain proportions among the whole of the male branches of the family, while females were altogether excluded from succession either to chiefship or to property.

What the exact proportions were into which the property was divided, it is impossible to ascertain, but it would appear that the principal seat of the family, together with a certain extent of property around it, was not included in the division, and always remained the property of the chief of the clan for the time. The chief, besides this, retained a sort of right of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, and received from each of the dependent branches a proportion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of chiefship, as well as for the purpose of enabling him to support the dignity of his station and the hospitality which he was called upon to exercise.

Although this system is so adverse to feudal principles, it is nevertheless clear that it was the only one which could exist among a people in the condition that the Highlanders were, and that it was in fact produced by the state of society among them; for when there was no other means of subsistence or pursuits open to the branches of the families during

peace, except those derived from the pasturage of the country, and during war that of following their chief, whose interest it accordingly became to retain upon the property as great a number of men as possible, and to secure the obedience of as large a clan as he could, it naturally followed that a division of the property among them was expedient, as well as that the patriarchal right of government and chiefship should descend to the lawful heir alone. A system so directly opposed to feudal principles as this could not maintain its existence in the Highlands under any modification, but still it was a system so well adapted to the Highland constitution of society, that it was only after a long struggle that it was finally given up, and even at a comparatively late period instances of its operation among them may be observed.

The most remarkable instance of this system perhaps appears in the history of the Macdonalds. Sommerled divided his immense possessions among his three sons. Another division took place by Reginald, his eldest son, among his three sons. And again, in the fourteenth century, by John, Lord of the Isles, who had obtained nearly the whole of the territories which had belonged to his ancestor Sommerled, among his seven sons; and finally, as late as the fifteenth century, we find the possessions of his eldest son Reginald, the founder of the clan Ranald, divided among his five sons. One effect produced by this system was, that the branch of

the family which had been longest separated from the main stem, in technical language the eldest cadet, became the most powerful family of the clan next to the chief, and in many cases much more powerful than even the family of the chief itself, in direct opposition to the results produced when the feudal system prevailed, in which case the youngest cadet, or the family nearest to the main stem, was of most consideration; and this difference between the two systems produced, as we shall afterwards see, a very remarkable result.

Law of marriage.

It has been not unfrequently remarked in the Highland succession, that a bastard son is often found in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan; and that in general when a feud has arisen from this cause between the bastard and the feudal heir, the bastard has the support of a great part of the clan. This, as might be expected, has hitherto been attributed to loose ideas of succession among the Highlanders, or to the influence of some principle of election; but when we consider how very inflexible the notions of the Highlanders were in matters of hereditary right, it would seem a more probable supposition that the Highland law of marriage was originally very different from the feudal, and that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their an-

cient usages. There is accordingly a singular custom regarding marriage retained to a very late period among the Highlanders, which would seem to infer that their original law of marriage was different from that of the feudal. This custom was termed handfasting, and consisted in a species of contract between two chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of the one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or handfast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law in Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent

marriage; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate[1]. It naturally followed that when the feudal law was introduced, it came, in this point, to be directly opposed to the Highland law, and must have frequently occasioned the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, to be looked upon as a bastard by the government, and according to their rules as incapable of succeeding; and thus arose many of those disputes about succession and chiefship which embroiled so many families with each other and with the government. But it must always be kept in mind that the Highlanders themselves drew a very strong distinction between bastard sons and the issue of these handfast unions, whom they considered legitimate, and that they rigorously excluded from succession of any sort the illegitimate offspring.

Having thus given a short view of the principal peculiarities which distinguished the constitution and laws of the Highlanders from those of other

[1] As late as the sixteenth century the issue of a handfast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. Alexander Sutherland claimed the earldom "as one lawfullie descended from his father Earle John the third; becaus, as he alleged, his mother was *handfasted* and fianced to his father;" and his claim was *bought* off by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married Earl John's heiress.—Sir Robert Gordon.

nations, it becomes proper that we should in some degree complete the sketch by a cursory examination of the gradation of ranks which appear to have existed among them, and these we must, in the same manner as the law of succession, regard in two points of view; first, in reference to their relation to property or the land of which they were proprietors, and second, in relation to the clan of which they were members.

Gradation of ranks.

With respect to the first point of view, the Highland system appears to have borne a close resemblance to the Welsh and Irish customs. According to the Welsh authorities there were three several tenures of land and nine degrees of rank. The first tenure was termed Maerdir, from Maer, the same as the Gaelic Maor, and signifying correctly any person that has jurisdiction. The Welsh had three degrees of rank under this tenure, the Brenin or king, the Twysog or duke, and the Jarl or earl. By the Irish these were all termed Righ or king. The second tenure was the Uchelordir or dominium, and consisted likewise of three degrees, the Arglwd or lord, the Barwn, and the Brier or squire. The same degrees were known to the Irish by the name of the Tighern, Nemed, and Flath. The third and last tenure was termed by the Welsh Priodordir, from priodor, signifying native, and included all whom we would now call tenants. Of these there were three degrees, the Gwreange or yeoman, the Alltud or labourer, and the Kaeth or slave. The Irish had like-

wise three degrees, and termed them severally Fŭidir, Biadhtach, and Mogh. The oldest account of the degrees of rank among the Highlanders is contained in a description given by an old sennachy of the government of the Isles under their Celtic lords, where we should expect to find the ancient usages of the Highlanders preserved with greater care. "The constitution or government of the Isles," says he, "was thus: Macdonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen,—viz., four thanes, four armins, (that is to say, freemen, lords, or sub-thanes,) four bastards, (i. e., squires or men of competent estates who could not come up with armins or thanes, that is, freeholders,) four . . . or men that had their lands in factory, as Macghee, of the Rhinds of Isla; Macnicoll, in Portree, in Sky; and Maceachern and Macgillevray, in Mull; Macillemhaol or Macmillan, &c. There was a table of stone where the council sat in the Isle of Finlaggan; the which table, with the stone on which Macdonald sat, was carried away by Argyll, with the bells that were at Icolmkill. Moreover, there was a judge in every isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had lands from Macdonald for their trouble, and likewise the eleventh part of every action decided; but there might still be an appeal to the council of the Isles. Macfinnon was obliged to see weights and measures adjusted, and Macduffie or Macphie, of Colonsay, kept the records of the Isles."

In this account it is plain that the Highland system

was almost the same with the Welsh and Irish. The first tenure consisted, with them, of the Ard Righ, Righ and Maormor, of which latter the lord of the Isles was no unworthy representation. The Tighern or Thane, the Armin and the Squire were the same with the three Welsh degrees included under the Uchilordir, while the Highlanders had an order termed native men, clearly equivalent to the Priodordir of the Welsh. These native men, however, were just the tenants or farmers on the property, for Martin, in his admirable picture of the ancient customs of the Western Isles, says, that the peculiar acknowledgment made by the tenants to the chief of their clan was the calpe. "There was another duty payable by all the tenants to their chief, though they did not live upon his lands, and this is called Calpich; there was a standing law for it also called Calpich law, and I am informed that this is exacted by some in the mainland to this day." And this is confirmed by Skene, who mentions in his work De Verborum Significatione, that Herczeld and Calpe were two duties paid by the tenant of more than the eighth of a davach to his landlord or chief. Now we find this was likewise the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent upon the native men, for in the bonds of Manrent which exist between native men and their chief, we find them always giving their bonds of Manrent and "*Calpis*, as native men ought and could do to their chief," and that there is always an obligation for the due payment of

the Calpe. We must be careful, however, to draw a proper distinction between the *nativi* or native men of Highland properties, and the *servi fugitivi* or *Cumerlach*, the latter of which were slaves, and the same as the Welsh *Kaeth*. These have all been hitherto most improperly confounded, and it has been assumed, that they were equally ascribed to the soil, but this was far from being the case. In all old charters they are carefully distinguished. The *servi* or *fugitivi* were absolute slaves, and might be bought and sold either with or independent of the land. The *nativi* were so termed not because they were bound to the soil, but because they could not be removed from it at the will of their lord. It was not a restriction upon their liberty, but a privilege that gave them their peculiar name.

The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and who possessed, all over Scotland, but especially in the Highlands, a definite and recognized estate in the soil. So long as he performed his services he was not to be removed from his land, nor could the lord exact from him a higher rent or a greater proportion of labour than what was due, and of right accustomed to be given. Their great privilege, therefore was, that they held their farms by an inherent right which was not derived from their lord, and from which he could not remove them. And in this way we find that all old Highland alienations of land included the "Nativis ad dictas terras pertinentibus." The servi and fugitivi were the cottars and actual

labourers of the soil, who were absolute slaves, and possessed no legal rights either of station or property. It is very remarkable, however, that the servi or slaves were confined entirely to the Lowlands of Scotland, not a trace of them being found in the Highlands; and as the existence of slavery of this description invariably points out a conquered people under the domination of another race, it forms a strong argument for the Highlanders being the original inhabitants of the country. Where a clan had retained their original property without addition or diminution, the whole of the families connected with it, from the Tighern to the native man, were unquestionably of the same race, and although the Tighern may have held his lands of the crown as a Norman baron, yet the Gaelic system of tenure would be preserved in his barony in all its purity. When a Norman baron obtained by succession or otherwise a Highland property, the Gaelic nativi remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their calpes to the natural chief of their clan and followed him to war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired, by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the nativi of another race. If these nativi belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation should a feud arise be-

tween the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of Manrent to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the Calpe. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan.

With respect to the gradation of ranks in relation to the clan of which they were members, besides the righ or king, who, in point of rank and birth was originally on equality with the other chiefs, and merely derived some additional dignity during his life from his station, the highest title of honour among the Highlanders was anciently that of *Maormor*. The nature of this title has been sufficiently examined in another place, and from all the materials which have come down to us, it is very evident that the Maormors were the patriarchal chiefs of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided.

When the line of the ancient Maormors had gradually fallen before the influence of the feudal system and the introduction of the feudal barons, the clans into which the great tribes were divided appear in independence, and their leaders were known by the name of Ceann Cinné or chief, who was held to represent the common ancestor and founder of the clan, and who derived his dignity from that source. The peculiari-

ties of the Gaelic chief are too well known to require any illustration, it may only be necessary to mention that it was an office possessed strictly by right of blood alone, and that nothing can be more erroneous or more inconsistent with the principles which regulated the form of society among the Highlanders than the opinion, so frequently expressed, that either election or a connexion by marriage could give any person a right to the chiefship who, according to the Highland principle of succession, was not the nearest male heir to that dignity. Next to the chief was the *Tanist*, or person entitled to succeed by the laws of tanistry, who possessed that title during the life of the chief, and was considered a person of considerable consequence.

After the family of the chief came the Ceanntighes, or heads of the houses into which the clan was divided, among whom the most powerful was the oldest cadet or *Toisich*. It naturally followed from the law of gavel, which produced a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he not unfrequently came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, that that branch which had been longest separated from the main stem became the most powerful. In this respect the Highland system exhibits a striking contrast to that of the feudal, and from the earliest period it was the *oldest* cadet who appears to have enjoyed, next to the chief, the highest dignity in the clan, and the principal post of honour when called

into the field. His station was that of leading the van in the march, and in battle to occupy the right of the line when the chief was present; and in the absence of the chief to command the whole clan. Hence in Gaelic, he was called Toisich, or the first, for there can be little doubt that the ancient Gaelic title of Toisich was peculiar to the oldest cadet. Dr. Macpherson, who was intimately acquainted with the exact meaning of ancient Gaelic phraseology and usages, says, " Toisich was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages; Spelman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *Toisich* from the *Tanistair* or the *Tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them.

" In Gaelic, *Tus*, *Tos*, and *Tosich* signify the beginning or first part of any thing, and sometimes the *front of an army or battle. Hence the name Toshich.*" p. 185.

It is remarkable that the signification given to the name Toshich by Dr. Macpherson implies the very post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege. Another character of the oldest cadet was that of maor or steward, in which his duties were to collect the revenues of the

chief. When the feudal customs were introduced into the Highlands, this office became identified with the feudal baron-bailie, and as the feudal law required that there should be a bailie for every barony, it soon ceased to be the peculiar office of any particular branch of the clan. The Gaelic name, however, retained for the office of Tosheadorach, sufficiently indicates that prior to the introduction of feudal customs it was the peculiar privilege of the Tosheach, or oldest cadet; and this is confirmed by every notice of the ancient Gaelic maors or seneschalli which have come down to us.

There was one remarkable result which followed from the power and consequence of this branch of the family, that when that of the chief, through peculiar circumstances, had become reduced so as not to be able to afford the clan the protection required from him, the clan frequently followed the oldest cadet instead of the chief, as on such occasions he became the most powerful person in the sept, and he thus often for a length of time enjoyed the possession of the dignity, consequence, and privileges of chief, without either possessing a right of blood to that station or acquiring the title of chief. It is plain that while clanship remained in its original and perfect state this could never be the case; but when the introduction of the feudal system had broken in upon the purity of clanship, and the territory of the chief had probably come into the possession of a Lowland baron by means of the feudal

succession, or the chief had by some unsuccessful opposition to the government brought ruin upon himself, or any other cause which the introduction of the Lowland barons might have occasioned, had rendered him incapable of maintaining his station, the clan naturally sought the protection of the only family able to occupy the position of that of their chief, and accordingly this duty was necessarily sought for at the hands of the oldest cadet. On such occasions he did not assume the title of chief, but was known by that of *captain*, or leader of the clan.

As the term captain has generally been held to be synonymous with that of chief, and to import the head of a clan by right of blood as well as by possession, it may be necessary to say a few words regarding the nature of the title. It is plain that this dignity was one called forth by circumstances, and that it was not usual in the Highlands, because it appears to have been altogether unknown until a late period, and then when it did come into use it was principally confined to three of the Highland clans only. These clans were the clan Chattan, clan Cameron, and clan Ranald; and if the title of captain was synonymous with that of chief, it is altogether impossible to conceive that it should have been confined to these clans alone, and that it did not prevail more generally over the Highlands. It is evident that a title, which was not universal among the High-

land clans, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances connected with these clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was simply a person who had from various causes become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan. To enter minutely into this investigation here, would lead to too great length; suffice it therefore to mention, that in each of these clans there is a controversy regarding the chiefship; that the family claiming that rank have in each asserted the family in possession of the captainship to have been merely the oldest cadet, and to have by usurpation or otherwise obtained their situation with the title of captain; and that when we come to the history of these clans, it will be proved that the captains of the clans were originally the oldest cadets, whom various circumstances had placed in that situation. There is one instance, however, which may be mentioned, as it seems to place the fact at once beyond all doubt. The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and this single occurrence of this peculiar title is just when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545 we find Archibald Maconuill captain of the clan Houston, and thus, on the only occasion when this clan followed as chief a

person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan.

Next to the Ceanntighes, or heads of houses, followed in rank the *Duine Uaisle*, or gentry of the clan. These constituted the only gradation subsisting between the chief and the actual body of the clan, forming a sort of link by which they were united. They were all cadets of the house of the chief, and could invariably trace their connexion step by step with his family.

We shall now conclude this short view of the gradation of ranks among the Highlanders by an account of the personal attendants of the chief, which we shall extract from the excellent Letters of an Officer of Engineers in 1716.

"When a chief goes a journey in the hills, or makes a formal visit to an equal, he is said to be attended by all or most part of the officers following, viz.:—

"The henchman.

"The bard or poet.

"The bladier or spokesman.

"The gillemore, bearer of the broadsword.

"The gillecasflue, to carry the chief when on foot over the fords.

"The gille comstraine, to lead the chief home in dangerous passes.

"The gille trusharnish or baggage-man.

"The piper, who, being a gentleman, I should have named sooner. And lastly,

" The piper's gillie, who carries the bagpipe.

" There are likewise some gentlemen near of kin who bear him company, and besides, a number of the common sort, who have no particular employment, but follow him only to partake of the cheer."

## CHAPTER VIII.

Religion of the Highlanders.—The Culdee Church.—Its Constitution and form of Government.—Poetry.—Ossian considered as an historical Poet.—New proof of his authenticity.—Music.

THE Highlanders, like all other people who have long preserved their original manners and mode of life unaltered, possessed a peculiarly imaginative character. While their manners remained in primitive rudeness, while their occupations were still those peculiar to the early stages of society, the energy of savage nature displayed itself in the increased power of imagination and the engrossing influence of fancy. But these natural properties of primitive society were greatly heightened in the Highlanders by the wild and romantic aspect of their country, which exercised a powerful influence on their character; and the force of imagination over the Highlanders has consequently displayed itself from the earliest period in the wildest superstition and poetic fancy.

Pagan religion of the Highlanders.

What the ancient religion of the Highlanders was before the light of Christianity dawned upon them, whether the Druidical, as sus-

pected by some, or a belief peculiar to themselves, would lead to too extensive an enquiry to ascertain. The direct authority upon this subject is not great. Tacitus mentions, that when the Caledonian clans united for the purpose of opposing Agricola, that they ratified their confederacy by solemn sacrifices. The only other writer from whom any information can be obtained is Adomnan, from whom it appears, that the Picts, whom we have formerly shown to have been the ancestors of the Highlanders, were possessed of a religious establishment of priests, and that a Pagan religion, full of the usual ceremonies and superstitions, existed among them. The most authentic record, perhaps, of the nature of that religion exists in the numerous stone monuments and circles which have remained, and may still be seen in such profusion, in spite of the ravages of time, the zeal of early converts to Christianity, and the consequences of agricultural improvement; and there can be little doubt that a comparison of these interesting monuments, in connexion with the few historical facts on the subject which are known, would afford a curious and sufficiently accurate picture of the nature of that ancient religion.

Culdee church.

The conversion of the northern Picts to Christianity took place in the sixth century, and was effected by the preaching of St. Columba, whose memory is still regarded with veneration by the Highlanders as the great apostle of their nation. The form of church government established by him

in the north of Scotland was of a very peculiar nature, and is deserving of some notice, as well from that circumstance as from its having given rise to a modern controversy of unusual length and bitterness. In the Christian church founded by that great man, and afterwards termed the Culdee Church, the zealous Presbyterian sees at that early period the model of a pure Presbyterian government, and the great principle of clerical equality acknowledged in a remote and obscure island, at a period when the rest of the world submitted willingly and blindly to Episcopal supremacy. The devout believer in the apostolic origin and authority of Episcopacy can discover nothing essentially different from the diocesan episcopacy which was at that time universal in Christian churches; and the Roman Catholic sees evidence of the existence of his own peculiar doctrines in that church which both the other parties are agreed in pronouncing to be the solitary exception to the universal prevalence of its dogmas and the earliest witness against its corruptions. When a controversy of this nature has arisen regarding the constitution of an early Christian church, it is manifest that that church must have possessed considerable peculiarities of form and character, and that it must in some respects have differed from the other churches of the period. If in no respect distinct in form or doctrine from the generality of Christian societies of that period, it is difficult to conceive how any doubt could have arisen as to its polity; and it

is still more difficult to suppose that it could have presented an exact counterpart to a modern system of church government, confessedly formed upon no ancient model, and the invention of the sixteenth century. Each party has unfortunately been more anxious to prove its resemblance to their own cherished system of church government than to ascertain its actual constitution. They have eagerly seized hold of every circumstance which appeared to favour their hypothesis, and attempted to neutralize and explain away whatever was adverse to their system; but until we find it impossible, from an impartial examination of all the scattered notices of the history of the Culdee church which have come down to us, to extract a consistent form of church government, although that form may have been a peculiar one, we are not entitled to assume, *à priori*, that the form of the Culdee church must have been the same with some known form of church government, and in consequence to disregard any embarrassing notice, however trivial. The obscurity which attends this subject has arisen from various causes. We cannot expect to find in the older writers much information regarding the internal history of the country, because, while they anxiously recorded the principal events of its external history, there was nothing in its manners and form of society to strike them as peculiar or worthy of commemoration. With regard to the Christian church established in the country the case is different, for when we consider that at

that period all Christian churches possessed essentially the same form of government, and that a form believed to be of apostolic institution, we may well suppose that if the Culdee church differed essentially from other churches in any important particular, that that circumstance would be carefully recorded by every ecclesiastical writer; and if we find that ecclesiastical writers do impute peculiarities to that church, we may safely conclude that, with the exception of the differences of form mentioned by these writers, it must in all other respects have been similar to other Christian societies throughout the world. Modern writers have added much to the difficulty of the question by overlooking the fact, that the Culdee church of Scotland was the offspring of the church founded in Ireland a century before by St. Patrick, and by persisting in viewing the Culdee church as it existed in Scotland unconnected with its mother church, although it formed an essential part of that church for many centuries after its foundation by Columba; but the difficulty has been increased still more by not distinguishing between the different churches which existed at the same time in Ireland and in Britain. During the occupation of Britain by the Romans, that island was inhabited by two races, the Britons and the Picts, and the latter were divided into two nations of the southern and northern Picts; Ireland at the same period was also inhabited by two races,—the Scots, who possessed the south and west, and the Cruithne, or Irish Picts, who in-

habited the north and east[1]. In the fourth century the Scots brought the whole island under subjection, and after that period, while their name extended over the whole of Ireland, we find the two races distinguished by the titles of the Southern Scots and Northern Scots. The Britons were the first of these different races who became Christian, and after them the Scots, both having been apparently converted to Christianity before the departure of the Romans from the island. After that event we find, in A.D. 431, Palladius sent from Rome as Primus Episcopus[2] to the "*Scotos in Christum Credentes*," and in the following year Patrick made his mission to Ireland. It would be unnecessary here to refute the absurd idea formerly held, that the Scots to whom Palladius was sent were the Scots of Britain, as there is no point which has been so clearly established as the fact that his mission was to Ireland; but historians have been much puzzled to reconcile the mission of Palladius with that of Patrick. Patrick unquestionably converted his Scots from Paganism, and that for the first time; Palladius, it is equally certain, was sent but one year before to Scots already Christian. Many attempts have been made to account for this, all of which are equally unsatis-

[1] See infra, p. 207.

[2] Much confusion has arisen among our historians by mistaking the meaning of the expression "Primus Episcopus". It most certainly signified first bishop, in respect of dignity, or primate, not first bishop in order of time.

factory. But when we find, on examining the best authorities, that Saint Patrick in fact converted the people of the north of Ireland only, that he founded his archiepiscopal seat at Armagh in Ulster, and that the jurisdiction of that primate never extended beyond that part of the island, the inhabitants of which were termed the northern Scots, it will appear very plain that the Scoti in Christum Credentes, to whom Palladius was sent as primate, were the southern Scots, or Scots proper, and that Saint Patrick's mission was directed principally to the Irish Picts, or northern Scots, who alone formed his church. In A.D. 414, Ninian, a bishop of the British church, converted the southern Picts to Christianity; and in 565, Columba, a presbyter of the church founded by Saint Patrick, by the conversion of the king of the northern Picts, added that nation to the church, which previously consisted of the northern Scots of Ireland only. To the same church also belonged the Scots of Britain, who came over from the north of Ireland sixty years before the arrival of Saint Columba. Now it must be remarked, that the churches of Britain, of the southern Scots founded by Palladius, and of the southern Picts by Ninian, had all emanated from Rome; and although they did not owe ecclesiastical obedience to the aspiring bishops of that city, they unquestionably derived their form of government and worship from her, and, accordingly, when again brought in contact with their mother church, in the person of Augustine, they

were not found to differ in any essential particular. The church of the northern Picts and northern Scots, to which the name of Culdee was afterwards given, and which owed its origin to St. Patrick, was in a very different situation, for it as unquestionably emanated from the church of Gaul, a church always opposed to that of Rome, and claiming a descent from the church of Ephesus, and its founder, St. John the Evangelist; and it was under the teaching of St. Martin of Tours that St. Patrick framed the system of church government which he afterwards introduced. The principal writer from whom any information regarding the Culdee church is to be derived is the venerable Bede, and we accordingly find that writer imputing to the Culdee church certain peculiarities in its outward form and government which he implies not to have existed in other churches.

The passage in Bede upon which both parties found their principal argument with regard to the form of government in the Culdee church, is the following:—"Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipso etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti justa exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus." From this passage the Presbyterian argues, that if a presbyter possessed the supreme government of the church, it must have been essentially a Presbyterian church, and overcomes the objection derived from the mention of bishops by

asserting that the word had a different signification in the Culdee church from that in other churches, and did not imply a distinct or superior order of clergy. The Episcopalian justly argues that Bede must have used the word episcopus in its ordinary sense, and consequently that the church must have been an Episcopalian one; but he attempts to explain the anomalous circumstance of these bishops being subject to a presbyter by asserting that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, and that the episcopi who were subject to the presbyter abbot were merely those bishops of Iona over whom the abbot had some jurisdiction in temporal matters. But it is manifest that neither of these explanations are satisfactory, and that an impartial consideration of this passage would bring us to a very different conclusion from either. By the use of the words "ordine inusitato," it is plain that the only anomalous circumstance connected with Iona was the subjection of the bishops to its presbyter abbot. By confining the expression to this circumstance, he clearly implies that the church possessed an order of bishops exactly in the same manner as other churches; nor, if the episcopi were not a separate and superior order, but merely implied certain missionaries, as the Presbyterians allege, do we see any room for the remark that their subjection to the abbot was an unusual institution.

On the other hand, if the Episcopalians are right in asserting that there was nothing unusual or ano-

malous in the constitution of the Culdee church with the exception that the Abbot of Iona exercised jurisdiction over the Bishop of Iona in some temporal matters, independently of the fact that we cannot trace either in the Irish Annals, which contain many particulars regarding Iona, or in other historians, the smallest trace of any Bishop of Iona different from the Abbot of Iona, it is difficult to suppose that Bede would have intimated the existence of an unusual form of government in the strong and precise terms which he uses. But that the Culdee church was essentially an episcopal church, and possessed an order of bishops distinct from and superior to that of the presbyter, is very clear, both from an impartial consideration of the language of Bede throughout, and from other writers.

In mentioning the mission of Aidan and of Finan to the Northumbrians, Bede adds in both cases that they were sent "accepto gradu Episcopatus," and what Bede implied by the "gradus Episcopatus" abundantly appears from the case of Cedd, who was ordained Bishop of Finan. The words of Bede are "qui (Finan) ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit eum (Cedd) episcopum in gentem orientalium Saxonum, *vocatus ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis:* qui *accepto gradu episcopatus* rediit ad provinciam et majore auctoritate cœptum opus explens, fecit per loca ecclesias, *presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit*," &c.

In another part of his work he mentions that Pope

John wrote a letter to the heads of the Scottish or Culdee church, which letter bore this superscription, "Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Thomiano Columbano, Chromano, Dimae et Bartano episcopis, Chromano, Hermannoque Laistrano, Stellano et Segeno presbyteris, Sarano ceterisque doctoribus seu *abbatibus* Scotis"[1]; which implies both the existence and the superiority of the episcopal order in the church. Adomnan is equally distinct that the bishops were a superior order to the presbyters. He narrates that Columba upon one occasion sent for a priest at the consecration of the eucharist, and that suddenly casting a look at him, he desired him to use the privilege of his order, and break the bread according to the episcopal mode[2]. The unavoidable inference from these passages is unquestionably that the Culdee church was no exception to the universal prevalence of episcopacy in Christian churches at that period, and to this inference the Presbyterian party oppose merely the passage of Bede formerly quoted; but allowing to that passage its fullest force, to which the other passages are equally entitled, the fact there stated is not only, as we shall afterwards see, compatible with the existence of episcopacy in that church, but the direct inference from the passage unquestionably is that the

[1] Bede, Lib. II. c. 19.

[2] "Hunc *solus episcopus* episcopali ritu frange panem—nunc scimus quod sis episcopus."—Adom. Vit. S. Columb. Lib. I, c. 16.

Culdee church possessed an order of bishops superior to that of the presbyters.

The Culdee church being, then, essentially an episcopal church, let us now examine its peculiarities, and in what respects it differed from the form of church government universally prevalent at that period; and in doing so it will be necessary to bear in mind that the Culdee church included the province of the northern Scots in Ireland, as well as the northern Picts in Scotland, and that it was the work of St. Patrick in the fifth century, not that of Columba in the sixth, (as generally supposed,) who merely added the nation of the northern Picts to its jurisdiction.

In the year 380, about fifty-two years before the Culdee church was established by Saint Patrick, the monastic system was for the first time introduced into Europe by Saint Martin of Tours; and previous to the rise of this extraordinary and powerful institution, the Catholic clergy consisted merely of the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

The bishops were, generally speaking, seated in the principal towns, and exercised an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a certain extent of the surrounding country which formed his diocese, while the spiritual wants of its inhabitants were supplied by the subordinate orders of presbyters and deacons. Such was the state of the clergy when the Culdee church took its origin, but a new institution had arisen in the East, which was destined afterwards almost to sup-

plant the clergy, and to wield the whole power of the Establishment. Although they subsequently attained this extraordinary elevation, yet at the time of which we speak the monasteries had barely risen to a station which placed them on a par with the clergy. Originally the monasteries were societies exclusively composed of laymen, who adopted this mode of retiring from the active duties of the world, and devoting themselves to a life of contemplation and devotion. Their spiritual wants were supplied by the bishop and presbyters of the diocese in which the monastery was situated, and to whose jurisdiction they were subject in ecclesiastical matters. Subsequently they found it expedient to procure a presbyter for the head of their monastery, and after this period the abbots of the monasteries were universally presbyters, while the monks remained laymen as before. They thus in some degree dispensed with the services of the neighbouring clergy, and while the bishop was obliged to render assistance to the monastery in matters which belonged exclusively to his order to perform, the abbot was relieved entirely from his jurisdiction. Such was the condition of these societies when Saint Martin established the first European monastery at Tours. The monks still consisted of laymen, and the abbot was an ordained presbyter. The dangerous consequences likely to result from such an institution, if elevated beyond its original position, were not seen, and its advan-

tages and merits were over-estimated to such a degree as to facilitate their rapid advance to power. To the progress which they had already made, Martin added the step of providing a bishop for the exclusive use of the monastery, who was elected by the abbot and monks, and ordained by the adjacent bishops to the end that he might preach and do episcopal offices in the monastery; and this bishop was obliged to reside within its walls, and submit to its monastic rule. In this state Saint Patrick arrived at Tours, and there can be little doubt that it was under the teaching of Saint Martin, who was his uncle, that he framed the system of church polity which he afterwards introduced into Ireland. In that system we should consequently expect to find the same weight and preference given to the monastic institutions over the clerical which Saint Martin had already manifested, and that the same effect should follow from that preference, of an additional step in their progress being attained by the monastic orders at the expense of the secular clergy.

Now in examining the Culdee monasteries, the first peculiarity which strikes us is, that the monks were no longer laymen, but ordained clergymen[1], and in this that church is certainly an exception to all

[1] This fact is acknowledged by all who have written upon the subject, although the inference to be drawn from it, and the peculiarity of such a circumstance, does not appear to have been perceived.

other churches. But we find a still more remarkable peculiarity in their system, for we see many of the abbots of their monasteries possessing the same character, exercising the same functions, and in every respect occupying the same position with the bishops of the other churches; and we find the monasteries over which these abbots presided possessing a jurisdiction over a certain extent of territory in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the bishops did in other churches. Now when we add to this fact that although, as we have seen, the episcopal order existed in this church, we find it impossible to trace the existence of any individual bishop distinct from the abbot of the monastery, the presumption naturally arises in the mind that the great peculiarity of the Culdee church was the union of the clerical and monastic orders into one collegiate system, where the abbot and the bishop was the same person, and the inferior orders of presbyters and deacons formed the monks who were under his control; and accordingly, on an attentive examination of the older historians, we find that this was actually the case. We can distinctly trace a division of the Culdee abbots into two orders, of "abbates et episcopi" and of "abbates et presbyteri;" thus, in the letter addressed by Pope John to the Culdees, the superscription implies that the five bishops as well as the five presbyters were abbots, and we accordingly find in the Irish Annals several of these bishops and presbyters mentioned as abbots. Besides this, the bishop-ab-

bots are frequently alluded to in these Annals[1]. This distinction appears to have been drawn between monasteries which had been founded by the primate, and the abbots of which were ordained bishops, and the monasteries which had emanated from those ruled by a bishop-abbot, which, being intended to remain subordinate to the monastery from which they proceeded, and not to form a separate jurisdiction,

[1] In Tighernac the following of those to whom the letter is addressed are mentioned.

OF THE BISHOPS.

A.D. 661. Death of Tomene, *Abbot-bishop* of Armagh.
—— 654. Death of Colman, *Bishop* of the O'Telly's and *Abbot* of Cluanirard.
—— 643. Death of Cronan, *Bishop* of Antrim.
—— 659. Death of Dima, Bishop of Conere.

OF THE PRESBYTERS.

—— 650. Death of Cronan, Abbot of Maighe Bile.
—— 646. Death of Laisre, Abbot of Bencair.
—— 652. Death of Segine, Abbot of Iona.
—— 662. Death of Saran, Abbot of the O'Cridans.

One of the bishops and two of the presbyters are not mentioned in these Annals, and were therefore probably in Scotland.

Of bishop-abbots, besides the two above mentioned, I find in Tighernac the following:—

A.D. 663. Tuenoc, the son of Findlain, *Abbot* of Ferna, and Dimna, *two bishops*, died.
—— 687. Death of Osen, *Bishop* of the *Monastery* of Finntan.
—— 715. Celline, Bishop-abbot of Ferna, died.
—— 718. Death of Dubduin, Bishop-abbot of Cluanirard.

were governed by presbyter-abbots, and resembled in many respects the chorepiscopi of the ancient church, and the archdeaconries of the present established church of England.

The character of the Culdee church, then, may be considered to have been in its polity a collegiate system, as carried to its fullest extent. In its mode of operation it may be viewed as a missionary church, and this was a system which was evidently peculiarly adapted to the state and character of the people among whom the church was established.

Both the nation of the northern Scots of Ireland and that of the northern Picts of Scotland consisted at that time of a union of several tribes, when the power of the king was circumscribed and his influence small; while the turbulent chiefs, almost independent, and generally at war with each other, rendered the royal protection unavailable for the security of any church constituted as most Christian churches at that time were. The Culdee polity preserved the principle of clerical subordination and centralisation, then and justly considered indispensable for the efficiency of a Christian church, while it avoided the dangers arising from the peculiar form of society of their converts by the peculiar form of government which their church assumed. Enclosed in a monastery with their ecclesiastical superior, the clergy were safe from aggression, and issuing forth as missionaries from its walls in time of peace, they car-

ried the blessings of Christianity to the savage members of the tribe in which they had been cast.

Of the history of the Culdee church little is known, and the annalists merely afford a few of the leading changes which took place in its external form. At first it consisted of the province of the northern Scots in Ireland alone, and the primacy over the whole church was vested in the monastery of Armagh, the bishop of which was styled Primus Episcopus. The province was inhabited by numerous tribes, in each of which a monastery was gradually founded, governed by a bishop-abbot, whose jurisdiction extended over the territorities of the tribe[1] in which his monastery was placed; and where the spiritual necessities of his diocese required an additional establishment of clergy, a subordinate monastery was founded, over which a presbyter only was placed. In 565, Columba, the presbyter-abbot of the monastery of Dearmagh, which had emanated from that of Cluanirard, over which Finan ruled as bishop-abbot, converted Brude, king of the northern Picts, and added that nation to the Culdee church. The monastery of Iona, of course, remained of that subordinate species ruled by a presbyter-abbot, and accordingly

[1] In Tighernac the bishop-abbots of the different monasteries are frequently styled bishop of the tribe in which the monastery was situated, thus—

A.D. 579. Death of Mani, Bishop of the O'Fiatachs.

See two instances in the former note.

it appears that the additional monasteries required by the exigencies of the infant church in the Highlands were still for many years afterwards supplied from the episcopal monasteries of Ireland. In the middle of the seventh century the primacy was removed, for what cause we know not, from Armagh to Scotland[1]. The great veneration and sanctity which attached to the character of Saint Columba, as first apostle of the Picts, had invested the monastery of Iona, which he had founded, with a superiority over the other Pictish monasteries, and consequently the primacy became the undoubted right of that monastery; but the almost idolatrous veneration entertained for Saint Columba, produced the anomalous and extraordinary departure from the principle of episcopacy of the abbot of Iona assuming the primacy of the Culdee church and retaining his character of presbyter. That such was the fact it is impossible to avoid admitting, if full force be given to the passage of Bede, frequently alluded to; but that this is incompatible with the existence and privileges of the episcopal order there is no reason for thinking; nor if this explanation, resulting from an impartial examination of the history of the church and the language of the old writers, be admitted, is it possible to produce a single passage which would infer that the Culdee church was not essentially, and

[1] Cujus monasterium (Iona) in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnibus Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat. Bede, Lib. III. cap. 3.

in the strictest meaning of the term, an episcopal church.

On the transference of the primacy from Armagh to Iona, many of the other monasteries of the Picts became episcopal, and were placed under the government of the bishop-abbot. In this state the church continued with little variation till the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Dalriada. The church which previously existed among the southern Picts was one of those which had emanated, though not immediately, from Rome, and it differed in no essential particular from other churches. On the conquest of that race by the Scots, the Culdee church and system of polity was introduced by the conquerors, and in consequence of this great accession of territory to the Culdee church, and of the ruin of the Irish part of their Establishment by the Danes, the primacy was once more removed from Iona to Dunkeld, a church belonging to the northern Picts; and this monastery being an episcopal one, the anomalous form of government which had resulted from the primacy of Iona ceased for ever[1].

[1] It is universally admitted that Dunkeld was founded after the conquest, by Kenneth M'Alpine. That the primacy was likewise removed to it appears from the two following passages in the Annals of Ulster:—

A.D. 864. Tuathal Mac Artguso, *Primus Episcopus* of Fortren and Abbot of Dunkeld, died.

—— 872. Flaibhertach Mac Murcertaigh, *Princeps* of Dunkeld, died.

With Dunkeld the primacy continued for forty years only, for the Culdee churches established by Kenneth in the conquered territory of the southern Picts, and which were peculiarly Scottish, appear to have become jealous of their subjection to the Pictish bishop of Dunkeld, and to have taken advantage of the usurpation of the throne by Grig, a chief of the northern Picts, to procure from him, probably as the price of their submission, the removal of the primacy from Dunkeld to Saint Andrew's [1]. After this period there appears to have been no alteration in the outward form of the church until the reign of David.

There are few facts in the early history of the Christian church more striking than the remarkable ease and pliability with which the church adapted itself in its outward form to the political constitution of the countries in which it was established. When Christianity was established by the Emperor Constantine as the religion of Europe, we see the extreme facility with which the church assumed a polity formed after the model of the Roman. On the fall of the empire by the invasions of the northern barbarians, the Christian church alone maintained its position, and again adapted itself to the forms of

[1] The Chronicon Elegiacum says of Grig, "Qui dedit Ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit;" and as it is in this reign that the Bishop of St. Andrew's is first termed "Primus Episcopus," it is plain that the above passage refers to a removal of the primacy to the Scottish church of St. Andrew's.

society which arose among these nations when settled in its territories.

In the Culdee church this quality of the early Christian societies is no less apparent. When confined to the north of Ireland, which was inhabited by a number of independent tribes, scarcely owing subjection to a common head, we find the diocese of the episcopal monasteries corresponding to the extent and numbers of these tribes; and when the same system was introduced into Scotland, we should naturally expect to find the same accurate adaptation of the church to its territorial divisions. The districts occupied by the early tribes of Scotland are in every respect the same with those territorial divisions which were afterwards known as earldoms, and accordingly there is nothing more remarkable than the exact accordance between these earldoms and the position of the episcopal monasteries, so far as they can be traced. This will appear from the following Table:

| *Culdee Monasteries.* | *Earldoms or Tribes.* |
|---|---|
| St. Andrew's | Fife. |
| Dunblane | Stratherne; Menteith, not an old earldom. |
| Scone | Gowrie. |
| Brechin | Angus; Mearns, formerly part of Angus. |
| Monymusk | Mar. |
| Mortlach | Buchan. |
| Birney (Moray) | Moray. |

| *Culdee Monasteries.* | *Earldom or Tribes.* |
|---|---|
| Rosemarkie . . . . . | Ross. |
| Dornoch . . . . . | Caithness. |
| Iona . . . . . | Garmoran. |
| Dunkeld . . . . . | Atholl; Argyll, part of Atholl. |

The exact coincidence of these dioceses with the most ancient territorial divisions, forms an important and sure guide in ascertaining the extent and history of the latter.

David I. is generally supposed to have altogether overthrown the Culdee church, and to have introduced the Roman Catholic clergy in their place; but this is a most erroneous view of the nature and extent of the alteration effected by him. To give a complete view of the change which took place in his reign would lead to too great length here; it may be sufficient to mention that it appears, from all the authentic information on the subject that remains to us, that the alteration produced by him affected the church in three particulars only. First, by the establishment of parochial clergy, and consequently superseding the missionary system which had hitherto supplied the spiritual wants of the people. Secondly, by the introduction of the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic church into the country; and, thirdly, by appointing a bishop over the parochial clergy, and declaring the territory over which the Culdee monastery had exercised their jurisdiction to be his diocese, in the Roman Catholic sense of the word. The extent and number of the dioceses re-

mained unaltered, being just those which had previously existed among the Culdees. The bishop was almost invariably the Culdee abbot, who was taken out of his monastery; his place was supplied by an officer termed a prior, and wherever the privilege was not expressly taken from them, the prior and Culdee college constituted the dean and chapter of the diocese, and elected the same person as bishop whom they would formerly have elected to precisely the same office under the title of abbot.

Such is a short sketch of the peculiar form which the Christian church, established among the Picts or Highlanders of Scotland, assumed on their conversion from Paganism by the exertions of St. Columba, the great apostle of their nation. But, while the influence of Christianity, and the zeal with which it was propagated, soon dispelled the public and general worship of false gods, and substituted the true religion as a professed belief in place of their former idolatry; yet, as might be expected from a character so enthusiastic as that of the Highlanders, a great part of the spirit of that idolatry remained under the appearance of Christianity, and exhibited itself in the wild and fanciful superstitions of the Highlanders and the superstitious practices which they still observed on their holidays.

Superstitions of the Highlanders.

To enter into this subject at all would lead to an investigation of a length altogether incompatible with the limits of this work, and it is with regret

that we leave a subject which affords such a curious and interesting picture of the Highland mind. It may perhaps be sufficient to remark, with a view to direct the enquiries of others, that the superstitions of the Highlanders consisted principally of three kinds: first, a belief in a species of supernatural beings, termed by them Daoine-shith, or fairies; secondly, a belief in the influence of departed spirits over the affairs of this life; and, thirdly, in second-sight, a subject of considerable difficulty, and one altogether peculiar to the Highlanders. Besides their superstitious belief, the spirit of their ancient idolatry was retained in many of their festivals, the principal of which was the *Beltain*, or first day of May, and *Samhuin*, or Allhallow eve; in the practices observed by them on these days may still be traced the rites of their ancient religion. Although their idolatrous worship had been superseded by Christianity, yet, as long as the feuds and their constant habits of predatory warfare remained among them, they do not appear to have imbibed much of its spirit. A French writer of the early part of last century remarks, "Ils se disent Chretiens, mais toute leur religion est fort tenebreuse, et ils ne craignent guères ni Dieu ni Diable." The case is now very different, for since peace has been restored to the hills they have advanced with wonderful rapidity, and they may now with truth be called the most moral and religious part of the population of Scotland.

Poetry.

Among savage nations poetry is always the first vehicle of history; before any regular means are taken for perpetuating a knowledge of the early history of their tribes, they are usually in the habit of reciting in verse the deeds of their forefathers, and their early traditions are thus handed down from the most remote antiquity. This custom, although common to all nations in a primitive stage of society, was peculiarly so to the Highlanders. The natural disposition of a hunting and pastoral people for poetry and hyperbole, was increased in them by the peculiar and imaginative nature of their character, by their secluded situation, and the romantic aspect of their country; and thus poetry was from the earliest period almost the only medium by which a knowledge of the great events of their early history, the achievements of their forefathers, and the illustrious examples presented for their emulation was conveyed to the Highlanders, and the warlike and somewhat chivalrous character of the nation preserved.

Of this species of historical poetry, a very ancient and remarkable specimen has been preserved to us in the Albanic Duan, a poem, written in the eleventh century, and containing the earliest traditions of the origin of the nation before the fables of the Scottish monks had full sway in the country; but, by a fate altogether singular in the case of the Highlanders, a complete body of these ancient versified histories have been handed down in the poems of Ossian. It

Historical system of Ossian.

is not my intention here to enter into the much disputed question of the authenticity of these poems, taken as a whole; public opinion has long been made up as to their literary merit, and no proof of their authenticity which could be adduced could make any alteration in that opinion. When considered as a poet, it only remains for the individual admirers of Ossian to examine the claims of his works to be considered as the productions of a remote age; but when looked upon as an historian, it becomes a matter of great and general importance that the question of their authenticity should be set at rest. It is now universally admitted that the ground-work of these poems is ancient, while it is generally held that upon that foundation a modern superstructure has been raised; with that question we have here nothing to do, but the point to be determined is, whether the historical system contained in the poems of Ossian is a part of that ancient ground-work, and an actual record of the events of remote ages, handed down through a long course of centuries, or whether it is the invention of a modern and ignorant antiquary. It has long been adduced, as a great objection to the authenticity of these poems, that the system of history contained in them is untrue, and that it is diametrically opposed to the real history. The historical facts contained in Ossian relate principally to Ireland, and the difference between the Ossianic system and that generally believed may be stated in a very few words. The sys-

tem maintained by the Irish writers is, that Ireland was inhabited by one race of people termed Scots, who are said to have come from Spain: that they divided Ireland into four provinces, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, each of which was governed by a petty king of the Scottish race: over these kings was placed a monarch, who reigned at Fara, in Meath, and these monarchs were all of the same Scottish line, and can be traced from father to son. The Ossianic system is very different from this. According to Ossian, Ireland was inhabited by two races of people: the south of Ireland was possessed by a people termed by him Firbolg; the north by Gael, who came originally from Scotland. These two people, according to Ossian, were constantly at war with each other; and in the second century the Firbolgs, by a series of victories having obtained possession of the greater part of Ireland, Conar, the brother of the king in Scotland, came over to the assistance of the Gael, and driving the Firbolgs out of the northern part of Ireland, founded a race of kings, who ruled in Temora or Tara, in Meath. The kings of the race of Conar remained on the throne till the middle of the third century, when the Firbolgs, under the command of Cairpre, again obtained the upper hand.

These systems of history are, it will be observed, diametrically opposed to each other. But if it should appear that the system of Irish history, now believed, is not older than the fourteenth century, and that the

history contained in the Irish Annals before that time is identic with that of Ossian; and if it should also appear that these older annals were unpublished, and inaccessible at the time Ossian was published, and even for centuries before that time; and that the very existence of a different system being contained in these older annals was unknown, it is plain, not only that this objection must fall to the ground, but that it must follow, as an incontestible proposition, that these poems were not the work of Macpherson, but must have been older, at least, than the fourteenth century.

The proof of these facts will be taken from the Annals of Tighernac and Innisfallen, the oldest and most authentic annals which the Irish possess. The former is a work of the eleventh century; the latter was written in the beginning of the thirteenth. The book remained inaccessible to all but those who could read the ancient Irish language and character, and were for the first time printed, along with a Latin translation, in the year 1825. Before entering upon the subject of enquiry, it will be necessary to make one remark, in order that the argument may be distinctly understood, which is, that in all the Irish annals the name given to the earliest inhabitants of Scotland is *Cruithne*, and this appellation is always applied by them to the inhabitants of Scotland, in contradistinction to the Scots, or inhabitants of Ireland.

In the first place, therefore, it can be proved from

Tighernac, that the Ultonians, or inhabitants of the north of Ireland, were Cruithne, and therefore must have come from Scotland. The kings of Ulster were also called kings of Eamania; thus, Tighernac says, Elim, son of Conrach, reigned in Eamania ten years, and afterwards Fiachia was killed by Elim, son of Conrach, that is, by the king of Ulster. Again he says, Angus Fin, king of Eamania, reigns, and afterwards he says a battle was fought by Cormac against the Ultonians, in which Angus Fin, with his Ultonians, were routed; and that the kings, both of Ulster and Eamania, were called kings of the Cruithne, appears from the following passages. In 236, he says, Fiacha Araide reigns in Eamania ten years, and afterwards he reports a battle between Cormac and the king of Munster against Fiacha Araidhe and the Cruithne. Again he says, in the year 565, Diarmait is killed by Black Hugh, king of Ulster; and Adomnan, alluding to the same transaction, says, that Diormit was killed by "Aidus nigrus Cruithnicum gente," by nation a Cruithne.

It appears, therefore, from Tighernac, that the north of Ireland was inhabited by a people of the same race with the inhabitants of Scotland. Secondly, it can be proved from Tighernac and the Annals of Innisfallen, that a people called Bolgas inhabited the west and south of Ireland. Thus Tighernac says, that Fiacha, king of Ireland, was killed in Temora, or as others relate, in the Plains of Bolgas; and the Annals of Innisfallen mention Hugh,

king of Connaught, and at the same time say that he was of the race of Bolgas. The same annals mention in 332, a battle in Fermoy by three Collas along with the seven tribes of the Bolgas, who are called Oilnegmacht, from inhabiting Connaught.

We thus see that the Ossianic system of history is supported by these old annalists in the few facts recorded, and that in direct opposition to the later and generally believed system.

We now come to the particular details of the history which extend during the second and third centuries, and in the following Table the two systems are confronted with each other, with a view to the distinct understanding of the argument, as follows:

| IRISH SYSTEM. | OSSIANIC SYSTEM. |
|---|---|
| *One people in Ireland called Scots.* | *Two races in Ireland; in the North, the Gael. South, the Bolga.* |
| Conn, King of Temora . . . | Conar, a Gael from Alban. |
| Art . . . . . | Art. |
| Cormac . . . . . | Cormac, killed by |
| Cairpre . . . . . | Cairpre, King of the Bolga. |

It will be seen that in the Irish, or generally believed system, four kings are made to succeed each other, from father to son, during that period, while in the Ossianic system, Conar, a Scottish chief, comes over to Ireland and founds a family of kings of his own line; and his grandson, Cormac, is killed by

Cairpre, of the race of the Bolgas, who in consequence mounted the throne.

In corroboration of this, I remark, first, that Conn is said by Tighernac to have conquered the northern half of Ireland from the Momonians, or inhabitants of Munster, and that he is called by him of the race of the Cruithne. Thus, he remarks, counting all the kings after Conn was on the throne, seven kings of the race of the Cruithne reigned over Ireland, of course including Conn in that race. Secondly, all agree that Conn was succeeded by his son Art or Arthur, and Art by his son Cormac. Thirdly, Cairpre is not made by Tighernac the son of Cormac, but his father is not given at all. And the Annals of Innisfallen shew that he was of the race of the Bolgas, for Tighernac says in 322 that Fiach, king of Ireland, was killed by the three Collas, sons of Eacho, who was son of Cairpre; and the Annals of Innisfallen say that the battle was fought by the Collas along with the seven tribes of Bolgas, thus shewing that Cairpre, their grandfather, must also have been of that race.

We thus see that Ossian is supported throughout by the old Irish annals, and that even when he is in direct opposition to the system of Irish history at present received. Now when we consider that the history contained in these old annals was *unknown*, and the annals themselves unpublished when the poems of Ossian were first given to the world, we must come to the conclusion that the poems are

necessarily as old *at least* as the fourteenth century, and that in them we have handed down to us a complete body of the most ancient historical poems by which a knowledge of the early history of the country was preserved to posterity [1]. It may, however, be proper to notice here shortly some of the other objections which have been made to Ossian as a historian.

One objection is, that the Lochlannach, or Norwegians, are mentioned in these poems, but that the Norwegians did not appear on the coasts of Britain till the ninth century. In answer to this I have only to remark, that the word Lochlannach applies equally to all the tribes inhabiting Scandinavia and the North of Germany, and to mention the well known piracies of the Saxons, who infested the shores of Britain from the second century to the fourth, when they were defeated and driven out of the Orkneys by Theodosius. Another objection is, that Ossian places the Plain of Moylena in Ulster, while in fact it is in

[1] An argument of the same nature has been used with great success by the well known Danish antiquary, Finn Magnussen. He proves that the Odenism, or religion of the Lochlans, as contained in Ossian, is a correct picture of the ancient religion of the Scandinavians, and that the real nature of that religion was unknown to modern scholars when Macpherson published his Ossian, and could not have been known to him. Finn Magnussen is unquestionably the best authority on the subject of the religion of the Eddas.

Meath[1]. To answer this, I must refer again to the Irish annals, and to the best Irish antiquaries, from whom it appears that there existed an extensive and well known plain in Ulster under that name. O'Flaherty mentions, p. 193—"Tuathal built Rathmor, or the Great Palace, in the Plains of Moylena, in Ulster." O'Connor also, the best and most learned of the Irish antiquaries, under the word "Rathmor Moylena," says—"Arx magna *campi Lena* amplissima et antiquissima *Ultoniæ* post Eamaniam etsi ab aliis constructa habeatur regnante Tuathalie," A.D. 130.

The place is mentioned three times in Tighernac, under the years 161, 565, and 682. It will be unnecessary to enter into a detailed examination of these passages, and it will be sufficient to mention that they shew very clearly *that the Plain of Moylena was in Ulster.* A third objection is, that Ossian places Temora, the well known palace of the kings of Ireland, in Ulster, while its situation is known to have been in Meath; but in this objection very great injustice is done to Ossian, for it is assumed that the Tura of Ossian, which he undoubtedly places in

[1] This is a most dishonest objection, for every Irish antiquary knows that there was a plain of Moylena in Ulster. I regret much to see it repeated by Mr. Moore, in his excellent History of Ireland; a work that would have been more valuable if he had not adopted the absurd and untenable system of Sir William Betham.

Ulster, was the same with Temora, but in Ossian the most marked distinction is made between Tura and Teamharr, or Temora; the former appears in Ossian to have been a seat of the Cruithne in Ulster, and was probably the same place with the Rathmore Moylena of the Irish annalists, while he places the latter considerably to the south, without marking out its exact situation, and implies that it was the seat of the Irish kings. From these few remarks it will appear, the value of Ossian as an historical poet must stand in the highest rank, while, whether the chief part of these poems are of ancient or modern composition, there can remain little doubt that in him we possess the oldest record of the history of a very remote age.

Music.

Where a national disposition towards poetry and recitation is exhibited by a primitive people, the sister art of music is seldom found to be wanting, and accordingly the Highlanders have at all times possessed a peculiarly strong inclination for melody. The style of the Highland airs is singular, being chiefly remarkable for its great simplicity, wildness, and pathos or expression. The scale used is different from the ordinary or diatonic scale, and is defective, wanting the fourth and the seventh; but this very defect gives rise to the pleasing simplicity and plaintiveness of the Highland melody, and imparts to their music a character peculiarly adapted to the nature of their poetry.

The most ancient instrument in use amongst them appears to have been the harp; and although it has been for many generations unknown, there is little doubt that it was at one time in very general use throughout the Highlands. The author of "certain curious matters touching Scotland in 1797" says, "they delight much in musicke, but chiefly in *harps* and clarischoes of their own fashion. The strings of the clarischoes are of brass wire, and the strings of the harps of sinews, which strings they strike either with their nayles growing long, or else with an instrument appointed for that use. They take great pleasure to decke their harps and clarischoes with silver and precious stones; and poor ones that cannot attayne hereunto, decke them with chrystall."

Innumerable other passages might be quoted to prove the very general use of the harp in the Highlands, while the records attest the existence of a numerous race of harpers attached to the different chiefs. Thus, in the lord high treasurer's accompts we find the following entries:

"May 10th, 1503. Item to Makberty, the clairsha, to pass to the Isles, iij$^{b}$. x$^{s}$.

"Sept. 3d, 1506. Item to Maklain's clairsha, ix$^{s}$.

"—— 4, ——. To Earl of Argyle's clairsha, xiiij$^{s}$., and to Duncan Campbell's bard, v$^{s}$."

And in a roll of Macnaughtan's soldiers, shipped at Lochkerran, "11th December, 1627," which has been preserved among the Morton papers, appears

"Harie M'Gra, harper fra Larg." An interesting specimen of the Highland harp of this period has been preserved in the family of Lude. But besides the fact of the harp having been in general use at this period, there is complete evidence that it has been used in this country from the most remote period. The country lying to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, including the greater part of the Highlands, abounds in large pillars of stone, carved with ancient sculptures, both intaglio and in relief. These sculptured pillars are evidently of very great antiquity, many of them even antecedent to the introduction of Christianity, and they form a most valuable and interesting record of the ancient manners and customs of the country. Upon two of these erect stones are found representations of the harp, exactly resembling the Highland harp in their design and appearance. On the first of these stones, the date of which is fixed from various circumstances to be of the ninth century, there is an armed figure seated and playing on the harp. The other is of still greater antiquity, and on it there appears a harp of an exactly similar construction. The use of the harp appears to have rapidly declined in the Highlands during the seventeenth century, in consequence of the civil wars which commenced at that period, and at length it was entirely superseded by the more martial instrument, the bagpipe, the origin of which is altogether unknown, although, from the character of the music, there is greater probability in supposing

it an ancient instrument of the Highlanders than of foreign introduction.

Besides the harp, the horn appears to have been in very ancient use among the Highlanders. It is found on two of these remarkable sculptured crosses, and in both cases it is apparently used in hunting.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Highland Dress.—Three Varieties of Dress worn previous to the Seventeenth Century; and their Antiquity.—Arms and Armour.—Hunting.—Character of the Highlanders.

Highland dress.

THE dress of the Highlanders is one in many respects peculiar to that nation, and is so singularly well adapted to their mode of life and the nature of their country, that it is difficult to believe that it is not the original dress of its inhabitants. Of late years, however, the antiquity of this dress and of the use of Tartan in the Highlands has been much doubted, and an opinion has very generally prevailed that it is but of modern invention, or, at all events, that the *truis* is the only ancient form of the dress; although what motive or circumstance could have led to the adoption, at a recent period, of so singular a dress, the doubters of its antiquity do not pretend to specify.

It would be too much, perhaps, to affirm that the dress, as at present worn, in all its minute details, is ancient, but it is very certain that it is com-

Three varieties of the dress in the 17th century.

pounded of three varieties in the form of the dress, which were separately worn by the Highlanders in the seventeenth century, and that each of these can be traced back to the most remote antiquity.

First variety.

The first form of the dress was that worn by the Dune Uasal, or gentry of the Highlands, and consisted of the Breacan or plaid, and the Lenicroich or Highland shirt. They are thus described by Martin; "The *plad* wore only by the men is made of fine wool, the thred as fine as can be made of that kind; it consists of divers colours, and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plad upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thred of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double-ells.

"When they travel on foot the plad is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood. The plad is tied round the middle with a leather belt; it is pleated from the belt to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trowis.

"The first habit wore by persons of distinction in the Islands was the Lenicroich, from the Irish word Leni, which signifies a shirt, and Croich, saffron, because their shirt was died with that herb. The

ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four; it was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle, but the Highlanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago.

"The shoes' anciently wore were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot, so that what is for one foot will not serve for the other.

"But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the south of Scotland."

By the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they are termed the mantle and the shirt, and are described by them as being the only dress worn by the gentry; thus the Reverend James Broome, in his Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, published at London in 1700, tells us, "they go habited in mantles, striped or streaked with divers colours, about their shoulders, which they call pladden, with a coat girt close to their bodies, and commonly are naked upon their legs, but wear sandals upon the soles of their feet; and their women go clad much after the same fashion."

In 1688, according to Sacheveril, "The usual outward habit of both sexes is the pladd; the women's much finer, the colours more lively, and the square larger than the men's; and put me in

mind of the ancient Picts. This serves them for a veil, and covers both head and body. The men wear theirs after another manner, especially when designed for ornament: it is loose and flowing, like the mantles our painters give their heroes. Their thighs are bare, with brawny muscles; Nature has drawn all her strokes bold and masterly; what is covered is only adapted to necessity; a thin brogue on the foot, a short buskin of various colours on the leg, tied above the calf with a striped pair of garters." According to Nicolay d'Arfeville, cosmographer to the king of France, (who published at Paris, in the year 1583, a volume entitled "La Navigation du Roy d'Escosse Jaques cinquiesme du nom, autour de son Royaume et Isles Hebrides et Orchades soubz la conduite d'Alexandre Lindsay excellent Pilote Escossois",) "Ils portent comme les Islandois une grand et ample chemise saffranee, et par dessus un habit long jusques aux genoux de grosse laine à mode d'une soutane. Ils vont teste nue et laisent croistre leurs cheveux fort long, et ne portent chausses ni souliers sinon quelques uns qui ont des botines faictes à l'antique qui leur montent jusques aux genoux."[1] Lesly gives a more mi-

[1] "They wear, like the Irish, a large and full shirt, coloured with saffron, and over this a garment, hanging to the knee, of thick wool, after the manner of a cassock. They go with bare heads, and allow their hair to grow very long, and they wear neither stockings nor shoes, except some who have buskins, made in a very old fashion, which come as high as their knees."

nute description of this dress in 1578. He says— "Vestes ad necessitatem (erant enim ad bellum in primis accommodatæ) non ad ornatum faciebant: chlamydes enim gestabant unius formæ et nobiles et plebeii (nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant) et illas quidem demissas ac fluxas, sed in sinus tamen quosdam, ubi volebant, decenter contractas. Has brachas a veteribus appellatas facilē equidem crediderim. His solis noctu involuti suaviter dormiebant: habebant etiam, cujusmodi Hibernenses et hodie sibi placent, villosas stragulas, alias ad iter, alias ad lectos accommodatas. Reliqua vero vestimenta erant brevis ex lana tunicella manicis inferius apertis, uti expeditius cum vellent jacula torquerent, ac fœmoralia simplicissima, pudori quam frigori aut pompæ aptioræ; ex lino quoque amplissima indusia conficiebant, multis sinibus, largioribusque manicis ad genua usque negligentius fluentia. Hæc potentiores croco, alii autem adipe quodam, quo ab omni sorde diutius manerent integra, illinebant: assuefacere enim se perfectius castrorum sudoribus consultissimum putebant."[1] Lind-

[1] "Their clothing was made for use (being chiefly suited to war) and not for ornament. All, both nobles and common people, wore mantles of one sort (except that the nobles preferred those of different colours). These were long and flowing, but capable of being neatly gathered up at pleasure into folds. I am inclined to believe that they were the same as those to which the ancients gave the name brachæ. Wrapped up in these for their only covering, they would sleep comfort-

say of Pittscottie gives the same account in 1573. "The other pairts (of Scotland) northerne ar full of montaines, and very rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called Reedschankis or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt, saffroned after the Irisch manner, going bair legged to the knee." Monsieur Jean de Beaugne, who accompanied the French auxiliaries to Scotland in 1548, describes the same dress: "Quelques sauvages les suyvirent, ausi qu'ils sont nuz fors que de leurs chemises taintes et de certaines couvertures legeres faites de laine de plusieurs couleurs; portans de grands arcs et semblables epees et bouchiers que les autres."[1] In

ably. They had also shaggy rugs, such as the Irish use at the present day, some fitted for a journey, others to be placed on a bed. The rest of their garments consisted of a short woollen jacket, with the sleeves open below for the convenience of throwing their darts, and a covering for the thighs of the simplest kind, more for decency than for show or a defence against cold. They made also of linen very large shirts, with numerous folds and very large sleeves, which flowed abroad loosely on their knees. These the rich coloured with saffron, and others smeared with some grease, to preserve them longer clean among the toils and exercises of a camp, which they held it of the highest consequence to practise continually."

[1] "Several Highlanders (or wild Scots) followed them (the Scottish Army), and they were naked, except their seamed shirts and a certain light covering made of wool of various colours; carrying large bows and similar swords and bucklers to the others," i. e., to the Lowlanders.

1512, John Major adds his testimony to the general use of the same dress: "A medio crure ad pedem caligas non habent; chlamyde pro veste superiore et camiisa croco tincta amiciuntur.....grossos pugiones sub zona positos ferunt frequenter nudis tibiis sub cruribus; in hyeme chlamydem pro veste superiore portant."[1] And finally, we have the authority of Blind Harry for the fifteenth century. He mentions that Wallace, who had been living in the Braes of Gowrie, having entered Dundee, was met by the son of the English constable of Dundee, and adds:

"Wallace he saw and towart him he went,
Likli he was richt byge and weyle beseyne,
In till a gyde of gudly ganand greyne,
He callyt on hym and said, Thou Scot abyde,
Quha dewill the grathis in so gay a gyde (attire),
Ane Ersche mantill it war the kynd to wer;
A Scottis thewtill (large knife) wndyr the belt to ber,
Rouch rewlyngis upon thi harlot fete."

There is thus a complete chain of authorities for the dress of the Highlanders, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, having consisted of the Highland shirt stained with saffron, the Breacan or belted plaid, the short Highland coat, and the Cua-

[1] "From the middle of the thigh to the foot they have no covering for the leg, clothing themselves with a mantle instead of an upper garment. They carry large daggers, placed under the belt; their legs are frequently naked under the thigh; in winter they carry a mantle for an upper garment."

ran or buskins, and that their limbs, from the thigh to the ancle, were certainly uncovered.

Previous to the fourteenth century, we cannot expect to find descriptions of the dress, but the existence of the same dress among the Highlanders can be established by another mode of proof. On the various tomb-stones of the ancient Highland chiefs still extant in some of the ruined chapels of the western Highlands, are to be seen effigies of these personages, represented clad in armour, and almost invariably in the Highland dress. The dates of these monuments are various; but the most complete evidence perhaps of the existence of this garb in the fourteenth century, is to be found in the sculptures of Macmillan's Cross. This ancient structure has been preserved in an uninjured state, and is still standing in the village of Kilmory in Knapdale: although there does not appear any date upon the stone, yet from the form of the letters in which there is this inscription, "Crux Alexandri Macmillan," there can be no doubt that it is at least as old as that period. On one side is the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, and the dress of the figure appears quite distinctly to be after the Highland fashion. But from the Duplin Cross, the date of which can, from various circumstances, be fixed to have been towards the end of the ninth century, there are a number of figures represented in the Highland garb, armed with the target and long spear. Another very re-

markable figure is found on the sculptured stone at Nigg, apparently of a still older date, in which the resemblance to the Highland dress is very striking, presenting also considerable indication of the sporran or purse. But it would be needless to detail all the sculptured monuments which bear evidence of the existence of the Highland garb; suffice it to say, that they afford complete proof of its having been the ordinary dress of a considerable part of the northern population from the earliest period of their history.

There is thus distinct evidence for the remote antiquity of this dress; but a very remarkable attestation to its use in the eleventh century still remains to be adduced.

Magnus Barefoot, it is well known, conquered the Western Isles, and a great part of the Highlands, in the year 1093. Various of the oldest Sagas, in mentioning that expedition, add the following sentence—"It is said, when king Magnus returned from his expedition to the west, that he adopted the costume in use in the western lands, and likewise many of his followers; that they went about bare-legged, having short tunics and also upper garments; and so, many men called him Barelegged, or Barefoot." The tunic and the upper garments are clearly the shirt and mantle of the Scottish writers. This dress, which was worn, as we have seen, from the earliest period, appears to have been peculiar to the gentry of the Highlands;—thus in a MS. history of the Gordons,

by W.R., preserved in the Advocate's library, (Jac. V. 7. 11,) the following anecdote is given, as occurring about the year 1591 or 1592. "Angus, the son of Lauchlan Mackintosh, chiefe of the clan Chattan, with a great party, attempts to surprise the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, belonging to Huntly, in which there was but a small garrison; but finding this attempt could neither by force nor fraude have successe, he retires a little to consult how to compass his intent. In the meanetime one creeps out under the shelter of some old ruins, and levels with his piece at one of the clan Chattan, *cloathed in a yellow warr coat, (which amongst them is the badge of the chieftanes or heads of clans,)* and piercing his body with a bullet, strikes him to the ground, and retires with gladness into the castle. The man killed was Angus himself, whom his people carry away, and conceills his death for many yeirs, pretending he was gone beyond seas." Martin likewise says, that it was worn by persons of distinction; and other writers contrast it with the dress of the common people.

Second variety of the dress.

The dress of the common people was the second variety in the form of the Highland dress.

John Major points out the distinction most clearly. After describing the dress of the gentry as given above, he adds, "In panno lineo multipliciter intersuto et cocreato aut picato, cum cervinæ pellis co-

opertura vulgus sylvestrium Scotorum corpus tectum habens in prælium prosilit."[1] It appears, therefore, to have consisted of the shirt, painted instead of being stained with saffron, and sewed in the manner of the modern kilt, while above it they wore a deer-skin jacket; they likewise wore the plaid, which the gentry belted about the body, over the shoulders, like the modern shoulder plaid. Taylor, the water poet, describes this dress very minutely in 1618.—"And in former times were those people which were called Red-shanks. Their habite is shooes with but one sole a-piece; stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warme stuff of divers colours, which they call tartane. As for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreaths of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer or lighter stuffe than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchiefe knit with two knots about their necke, and thus are they attyred." There is, however, as old an attestation for the use of this dress as for the other; for while the Sagas describe the king of Norway and his courtiers wearing the dress of the Highland gentry in the eleventh century, they describe some

[1] "The common people of the Highland Scots rush into battle having their body clothed with a linen garment, manifoldly sewed, and painted or daubed with pitch, with a covering of deer-skin."

of his meaner followers attired in that of the common people of the Highlands. "Sigurd had on," say they, "a red skarlet tunic, and had a blue vest above it;" here the tunic and vest answer exactly to the shirt and jacket of the common people. Sigurd is described by the Saga as having been much derided by the Norwegians for his extraordinary dress. He is accused of displaying his nakedness, and termed "a sleeveless man, and without backskirts." The third variety in the form of the dress worn by the Highlanders was that of the Truis, but this dress can be traced no farther back than the year 1538. Martin thus describes it in 1716. "Many of the people wear *trowis;* some have them very fine woven, like stocking of those made of cloth; some are coloured, and others striped; the latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the trowis is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger, and half a finger, so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit.....The one end (of the plaid) hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also; the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do any thing upon occasion." And in 1678 it is thus mentioned by Cleland, who wrote

Third variety of the dress.

a satirical poem upon the expedition of the Highland host.

" But those who were their chief commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie standarts,
Who led the van and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear;
With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
With good blue bonnets on their heads.

" A slasht out coat beneath her plaides,
A targe of timber, nails, and hides."

Defoe, in his Memoirs of a Cavalier, mentions it as worn in 1639,—" Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches and stockings of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short coats of the same." The earliest notice, however, is contained in the treasurer's accounts for 1538, and consists of the dress worn by James V. when hunting in the Highlands.

" Item, in the first for ij elnis ane quarter elne of *variant cullorit velvet* to be the kingis grace ane *schort Heland coit*, price of the elne vj$^{lib}$.: summa xiij$^{lib}$. x$^{s}$.

" Item, for iij elnis quarter elne of grene taffatyis, to lyne the said coit with, price of the elne x$^{s}$; summa, xxxij$^{s}$. vj$^{d}$.

" Item, for iij elnis of *Heland tertane* to be *hoiss*

to the kingis grace, price of the elne iiij$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$.;—summa xiij$^{s}$.

" Item, for xv elnis of Holland claith to be *syde Heland sarkis* to the kingis grace, price of the elne viij$^{s}$;—summa, vj$^{li b}$.

" Item, for sewing and making of the said sarks ix$^{s}$.

" Item, for twa unce of silk to sew thame, x$^{s}$.

" Item, for iiij elnis of ribanis to the handes of them, ij$^{s}$."

The *hoiss* here mentioned are plainly the *truis*, the stockings being termed short *hoiss;* and from these accounts it appears that this dress consisted of the Highland shirt, the truis made of tartan, the short Highland coat made of tartan velvet, with the sleeves " slasht out "; and finally, the plaid thrown over the shoulders. The truis cannot be traced in the Highlands previous to the sixteenth century, but there is undoubted evidence that it was, from the very earliest period, the dress of the gentry of Ireland. I am inclined therefore to think that it was introduced from Ireland, and that the proper and peculiar dress of the Highlanders consisted of the first two varieties above described. The use of tartan in the Highlands at an early period has been denied, but the passages above quoted shew clearly, that what is now called tartan, was used from an early period in various parts of the dress. Among the gentry, the plaid was always of tartan, and the

coat appears to have been from 1538 of tartan velvet, and slashed; the short hoiss were likewise of tartan, but the Highland shirt was of linen, and dyed with saffron. Among the common people the plaid was certainly not of tartan, but generally brown in colour[1], while the shirt worn by them was of tartan. The present dress with the belted plaid is exactly the same as the old dress of the gentry, with the exception of the yellow shirt. The dress with the kilt and shoulder-plaid, is probably a corruption of the dress of the common people. Among the common people the shirt was of tartan, and sewed in plaits, and they wore a jacket, and the plaid over the shoulder; this shirt was probably termed filleadh, and if divided in the middle would form exactly the present dress with the shoulder plaid; the lower part of the shirt would be the filleadh-beg or kilt, the upper part the waistcoat, and the jacket and shoulder-plaid would remain. It has likewise been doubted whether the distinction of clan tartans was known at that period; but Martin seems to set that question at rest, for in his valuable account of the Western Isles he says, "Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids, as to the stripes, or breadth, or colours. This humour is as

[1] "*Chlamydes* enim *gestabant* unius formæ *omnes et* nobiles et plebeii (*nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant*)."—John Major. Moniepennie says, "but for the most part they (the plaids) are now browne, most nere to the colour of the hadder."

different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places, are able, at the first view of a man's plaid, to guess the place of his residence." Among the common people, the jacket was of deer-skin. But the cuaran or buskin, and afterwards the hose, were common to both.

The dress of the Highland women is thus described by Lesley in 1578,—" Mulierum autem habitus apud illos decentissimus erat. Nam talari tunicæ arte Phrygiâ ut plurimum confectæ amplas chlamydes, quas jam diximus, atque illas quidem polymitas superinduerunt. Illarum brachia armillis, ac colla monilibus elegantius ornata maximam habent decoris speciem." [1] And by Martin in 1716—" The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called *Arisad*, is a white plad, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red. It reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of a hundred marks value; it was broad as an ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraven with various animals, &c. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of

[1] " Their women's attire was very becoming. Over a gown reaching to the ancles, and generally embroidered, they wore large mantles of the kind already described, and woven of different colours. Their chief ornaments were the bracelets and necklaces with which they decorated their arms and necks."

the larger, and above two ounces' weight; it had in the centre a large piece of chrystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size.

"The plad being pleated all round, was tied with a belt below the breast; the belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate, about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven, the end of which was adorned with fine stones, or pieces of red coral. They wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine kerchief of linen strait about the head, hanging down the back taperwise. A large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands."

Arms. Besides the antiquity of the Highland dress, the use of armour among the Highlanders has been also much doubted by modern antiquaries, but there are perhaps few points for which there is clearer attestation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the few notices of Highland customs at that period attest the use of the helmet, and the shirt of mail. Their weapons appear to have been the large sword, the battle-axe, the spear, the bow and arrow, and the dirk. In illustration of this we shall throw together a few passages from the writers of that period.

In 1512.—" Arcum et sagittas, latissimum ensem, cum parvo halberto, pugionem grossum ex solo uno latere scindentem et acutissimum sub zona semper ferunt. Tempore belli loricam ex loris ferreis per totum corpus induunt et in illa pugnant." [1]

In 1573.—" Thair weapones ar bowes and dartes, with ane verie broad sword, and ane dagger sharp onlie at the one syde."[2]

In 1578.—" In prœliis vero hostilique concursu vel lancea vel sagitta adversarium petebant. Gladio quoque utebantur ancipiti, pedites oblongo, equites brevi, utrique lato, ac acie longè accutissimo ut primo conatu hominem facile dissecaret medium. Lorica hamis ferreis conserta muniebantur. Hanc tunicæ corriaceæ non minus firmæ quam eleganti (nostri Acton dicunt) superinduerunt. Omnes denique armatura illis leves, ut facilius si eo angustiarum detruderentur, ex hostium manibus possent elabi." [3]

[1] John Major.—" They always carry a bow and arrows, a very broad sword with a small halbert, a large dagger, sharpened on one side only, but very sharp, under the belt. In time of war they cover their whole body with a shirt of mail of iron rings, and fight in that."

[2] Lindsay of Pittscottie.

[3] Lesly.—" In battle and hostile encounter their weapons were a lance or arrows. They use also a two-edged sword, which with the foot soldiers was pretty long, and short for the horse; both had it broad, and with an edge so exceeding sharp that at one blow it could easily cut a man in two; for defence they use a coat of mail woven of iron rings, which they wore over a

In 1583.—" Leurs armes sont l'arc et la flesche et quelques javellotz qu'ils tirent fort dextrement, et une large espée, avec le poignard pointu, qui ne taille que d'un costé. Ils sont fort legers à la course, et n'y a cheval si viste qui les puisse devancer, comme j'en ay veu la preuve plusieurs fois, tant en Angleterre qu'en Escosse." [1]

Martin, in his Western Isles, says, " The ancient way of fighting was by set battles, and for armes some had broad two-handed swords, and head-pieces, and others bows and arrows."

The author of " Certain curious matters concerning Scotland " in 1597 says, " They fight with broad swords and axes."—Moneypennie, who wrote in 1612, remarks—"Their armour, wherewith they cover their bodyes in time of warre, is an yron bonnet, and an habbergion, side almost even to their heeles. Their weapons against their enemies are bowes and arrows. The arrows are for the most part hooked, with a barbel on either side, which once entered within the body, cannot be drawn forth again, un-

leather jerkin, stout and of handsome appearance, which we call an Acton. Their whole armour was light, that they might the more easily slip from their enemies' hands if they chanced to fall into such a straight."

[1] Nicolay d'Arfeville.—" Their arms are the bow and arrow, and some darts, which they throw with some dexterity, and a large sword, with a single-edged dagger. They are very swift of foot, and there is no horse so swift as to outstrip them, as I have seen proved several times both in England and Scotland."

less the wound be made wider. Some of them fight with broad swords and axes."

Beague, in describing the battle of Pinkie, says, "The Highlanders, who shew their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broadswords, large bows, and targets."—And finally, an act of council dated 13 December, 1552, ordering a levy of two ensigncies of Highland soldiers within the bounds of Huntly's lieutenancy, to go to France with other Scottish troops for the support of his most Christian Majesty in his wars, directs the Highlanders to be accoutred as follows, viz., "with jack and plait, steil bonnet, sword, boucklair, new hose, and new doublett of canvass at the least, and sleeves of plait or splents, and ane speir of sax elne lang or thereby."

These passages, to which many others might be added, are sufficient to shew that the Highlanders were not the naked and defenceless soldiers at that time as is generally supposed, but that they were well acquainted with the use of defensive armour, and that the steel head-piece, the habergeon, or the shirt of mail, was in general use among them.

Hunting.

When not engaged in regular warfare, or in some of the almost constant predatory excursions of the time, the chief occupation of the ancient Highlanders was that of hunting. In the words of Holinshed, "whensoever they had entered

into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not live in such security that thereby they would suffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keep themselves in their former activitie and nimbleness of lives, either with continual huntinge (a game greatly esteemed among our ancestors) or with running from the hills unto the valleys, or from the valleys unto the hills, or with wrestling, and such kind of pastymes, whereby they were never idle." As the Highlanders considered that, next to war, hunting was the most manly exercise and occupation, their great hunting expeditions seem to have been held with splendid though rude magnificence, and they were not unfrequently made the cover of deeper designs. Taylor, the water poet, gives so very lively and picturesque a description of the Highland hunting scene he witnessed, that although it has already been made the subject of frequent quotation, it is so very much to the present purpose that I cannot refrain from inserting a portion here. "The manner of the hunting is this—five or six hundred men do rise early in the morning, and they do disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight, or ten miles' compass, they do bring or chase in the deer in many herds (two, three, or four hundred in a herd) to such or such a place as the noblemen shall appoint them; then when day is come, the lords and gentlemen of their companies do ride or go to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middle through burns and rivers, and then

they being come to the place, do lie down on the ground, till those foresaid scouts, which are called the Tinchell, do bring down the deer; but as the proverb says of a bad cook, so these unkell men do lick their own fingers; for besides their bows and arrows which they carry with them, we can hear now and then a harquebuss or a musket go off, which they do seldom discharge in vain. Then after we had laid there three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hills round about us, (their heads making a shew like a wood,) which being followed close by the *tinchell*, are chased down into the valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being waylaid with an hundred couple of greyhounds, they are all let loose as occasion serves upon the herd of deer, that with dogs, guns, arrows, dirks, and daggers, in the space of two hours four score fat deer were slain, which after are disposed of some one way and some another, twenty and thirty miles, and more than enough left for us to make merry withall at our rendevous."

Character. I may conclude this rapid survey of the manners and customs of the Highlanders by contrasting a character of the Highlanders in the fourteenth century with one of the present day, both of them written by persons far from favourable to the Highlands or its inhabitants. "Insulana sive montana ferina gens est et indomita, rudis et emmorigerata, raptu capax, otium diligens, ingenio docilis et callida, forma spectabilis, sed amictu deformis;

populo quidem Anglorum et linguæ, sed et proprie nationi, propter linguarum diversitatem infesta et crudelis; regi tamen et regno fidelis et obediens, nec non faciliter legibus subdita si regatur."[1] "The modern Gael", says a modern writer who cannot certainly be accused of partiality to the Highlanders, "is naturally an indolent and unindustrious being; yet when there is occasion for activity and exertion, he is not often to be paralleled. He is modest and unassuming. His courtesy and good breeding are unstudied and becoming, and no feeling of inferiority betrays him into abstraction or awkwardness of manner; shrewd, inquisitive, and intelligent, he has his faculties collected and at his command. He is sensible of kindness and deeply susceptible of gratitude, but withall he is superstitious, haughty, passionate, and vindictive."[2]

[1] Fordun. [2] Armstrong.

# APPENDIX

TO

# PART I.

## The Seven Provinces of Scotland.

In treating of the earlier part of the history of Scotland, it had been my intention to have refrained from entering more deeply into the subject than was absolutely necessary for the development of the single proposition which I had to establish—viz., the descent of the Highlanders from the northern Picts; but the remarkable discoveries of Sir Francis Palgrave, regarding the court and privileges of the seven earls of Scotland in the thirteenth century, corroborate so very strongly the views which I had been led to form of the constitution of the Pictish kingdom, and of its preservation in the subsequent Scottish monarchy, that I am induced to depart from my resolution, and to give a more detailed view of the subject in this Appendix.

Previous writers on Scottish history have in general overlooked the ancient territorial divisions of the

country. That the name of Scotia was, previous to the thirteenth century, confined to the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, is undoubted; the chronicles and ancient writers invariably asserting that these Firths divided Scotia from Anglia. That part of the present kingdom situated to the south of these Firths, appears to have formerly consisted of the two provinces of Lothian and Cumbria, or Galloway; and these provinces have been frequently noticed by our later historians. These writers have, however, entirely overlooked the fact, that Scotia, or Scotland proper, was likewise divided into provinces. We have seen that frequent allusion is made by the chroniclers and monkish writers to the "provinciæ Pictorum"[1]; and from the Scottish conquest down to the thirteenth century, they frequently notice the existence of *provinces* in the north of Scotland. The oldest description of these territorial divisions which we possess, is contained in the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, styled "De Situ Albaniæ," and written in the year 1180. He mentions that the "Aqua optima, quæ Scotticé vocata est Forth," divides the "regna Scottorum et Anglorum," and says, "Hæc vero terra a septem fratribus divisa fuit antiquitus in septem partes: quarum pars principalis est *Enegus* cum *Moerne*, ab Enegus primogenito fratrum sic nominata: secunda autem pars est *Ad-*

[1] See Part I. Chap. II.

*theodle* et *Gouerin*[1]: pars etiam tertia est *Stradeern* cum *Meneted:* quarta pars partium est *Fife* cum *Fothreve:* quinta vero pars est *Marr* cum *Buchen:* sexta autem est *Murref* et *Ros:* septima enim pars est *Cathanesia* citra montem et ultra montem: quia Mons *Mound* dividit *Cathanesiam* per medium."[2] He afterwards gives a different account of the seven provinces, on the authority of Andrew, bishop of Caithness:—

"Primum regnum fuit (sicut mihi verus relator retulit, Andreas, videlicet, vir venerabilis Katanensis episcopus nacione Scottus et Dunfermlis Monachus) ab illa aqua optima, quæ Scottice vocata est *Forth*, Britannice *Werid*, Romane vero *Scotte-Wattre*, i. e., aqua Scottorum; quæ regna Scottorum et Anglorum dividit, et currit juxta oppidum de *Strivelin*, usque ad flumen aliud nobile, quod vocatum est *Tae*.

"Secundum regnum ad *Hilef*, sicut mare circuit, usque ad montem aquilonali plaga de *Strivelin* qui vocatur *Athrin*.

"Tertium regnum ab *Hilef* usque ad *De*.

"Quartum regnum ex *De* usque ad magnum et

[1] The word read by Innes *Gouerin*, ought undoubtedly to be *Garōrin* or Garmorin, for the division of the Picts into the two nations of Australes et Septentrionales, and the language of Bede, precludes the possibility of Atholl and Gowry being in the same territorial division. Innes probably never heard of the Earldom of Garmorin.

[2] Innes, App. No. 1.

mirabile flumen quod vocatur *Spe*, majorem et meliorem totius Scociæ.

" Quintum regnum de *Spe* usque ad montem *Bruinalban.*

" Sextum regnum fuit *Muref* et *Ros.*

" Septimum regnum fuit *Arregaithel.*"

On comparing these two lists, it will be observed that six of the seven provinces are the same in both; the first province in the second list being equivalent to Fife and Fothreve; the second, to Stratherne and Menteth; the third, to Angus and Merns; the fourth, to Marr and Buchan; the fifth, to Atholl; and the sixth, Moray and Ross; while in the first list, the seventh is Cathanesia, and in the second it is Argyll.

This variation, it is plain, could not arise from any error in the ancient documents from which these two accounts are taken; and the two lists can only represent the division of Scotland into seven provinces, *at different periods*, since otherwise we could not account for the omission of either Argyll or Caithness. This variation, however, points out distinctly the different periods in the history of Scotland to which the two lists apply. The first list omits Argyll; the second includes Argyll and omits Caithness; and the ninth century produced exactly the changes in the history of Scotland which would account for this variation; for the Scottish conquest, in 843, added Dalriada, which afterwards became

Argyll, to the rest of Scotland, and towards the end of the same century, Caithness fell into the hands of the Norwegians. The second list thus exhibits the exact territories possessed by the king of Scotland subsequent to the ninth century, while the first list gives an equally faithful picture of the extent of the *Pictish* kingdom previous to the Scottish conquest. This is very plain, when we find that the seven provinces in the first list form exactly the possessions of the Picts, and that the part omitted is just the territory of the Dalriads; and this is most important, for it proves that the division into seven provinces was peculiar to the Picts, and that the Pictish kingdom formed the basis of the subsequent Scottish monarchy. Having thus established the fact that the seven provinces contained in the first list were the territorial divisions of the *Pictish* kingdom previous to the *Scottish* conquest, we now proceed to enquire into the nature and purpose of this division.

Giraldus mentions a tradition that the seven provinces arose from a division of the territory of the Picts among seven brothers. These seven brothers, however, are manifestly the same with the seven sons of Cruthne, the progenitor of the Picts mentioned in the following passage of the Pictish chronicle. "Cruidne filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit; VII. filios habuit. Hæc sunt nomina eorum; Fiv, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Ce, Circui."[1] The same

[1] Pinkerton, App. No. 10.

seven brothers are mentioned in an old Gaelic poem attributed to St. Columba, and quoted in that ancient and singular history of the Picts contained in the book of Ballymote.

> "The seven great sons of Cruthne
> Divided Alban into seven parts,
> Cait, Ce, Cirighceathac,
> Fibh, Fidach, Fotla, Fortreand."[1]

The names of these seven brothers, however, appear from the Irish annalists to have been actually the Gaelic names of the districts in question.

The name of Fortren occurs frequently in these Annals, where many of the Pictish kings are termed "Ri Fortren," or king of Fortren; and that this word, although used for Pictavia in general, was applied in a strict sense to Stratherne, appears from two facts: 1st. Angus Ri Fortren (or king of Fortren, in Tighernac,) appears, in the old history of the foundation of St. Andrew's, as residing in Forteviot in Stratherne as his capital; and it is plain that, in a state of society like that of the Picts, the residence of the monarch would always be in the territories of the tribe of which he was the chief. 2dly. The Annals of Ulster mention in 903 the slaughter of Ivar the Norwegian pirate, "by the men of Fortren," while the Pictish Chronicle, in relating the same

[1] Pinkerton, App. No. 14. This very curious and valuable document must not be judged of by Pinkerton's translation, which bears but a very remote resemblance to the original.

event, says, "In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Sraithheremi (Stratherne) Normanni."

Fiv is manifestly Fife. In *Cathanesia*, and *Athfotla* or Atholl, we plainly recognise Got or Cait, and Fotla; while Tighernac mentions a battle fought "in terra Circi," and from the parties engaged in it, it would appear to have been in the territories of the southern Picts, and consequently the province of Angus. There only remain the names Ce and Fidach to be identified; but although these must have been the Gaelic names of the two remaining provinces stretching from the Dee to the Firth of Tain, we are unable further to identify them. All authorities thus agree in the division of the Pictish nation into seven provinces; and as the Picts were at the same time divided into the two great nations of the Northern and Southern Picts, who were separated from each other by the Great Grampian range, it would appear that four of these provinces belonged to the former of these nations, and three to the latter.

The Picts, however, it must be remembered, consisted of a confederacy of tribes, in number certainly greater than seven. These tribes then must have been grouped together, as it were into provinces, and it will be necessary to ascertain their number and situation before we can understand the purpose of the latter division. After giving the first list of seven provinces, Giraldus proceeds to say, "Inde est ut hi septem fratres prædicti pro septem

*regibus* habebantur: *septem regulos sub se habentes.* Isti septem fratres regnum Albaniæ in septem regna diviserunt, et unusquisque in tempore suo in suo regno regnavit." There were thus, according to tradition, among the Picts, seven "reges," and inferior to them seven "reguli," that is to say, as the Picts were a confederacy of tribes, the heads of the nation consisted of fourteen chiefs, of whom seven were superior in rank to the rest. As we had previously found the existence of the seven provinces traditionally preserved in the shape of the seven sons of the supposed founder of the Pictish kingdom, so we should likewise expect to recognize the fourteen tribes of the nation traditionally preserved in the same documents and in a similar form. Such is actually the case. The Pictish Chronicle has the following passage:—

"15 Brude bout, a quo xxx Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam, per centum l. annorum spacium xlviii. annis regnavit. Id est, Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, Brude Urleo, Brude Gant, Brude Urgant, Brude Guith, Brude Urguith, Brude Fecir, Brude Urfecir, Brude Cal, Brude Urcal, Brude Ciut, Brude Urciut, Brude Fec, Brude Urfec, Brude Rú, Brude Eru, Brude Gart, Brude Urgart, Brude Cinid, Brude Urcinid, Brude Iup, Brude Uriup, Brude Grid, Brude Urgrid, Brude Mund, Brude Urmund."

In the Book of Ballymote, perhaps the better authority, we find exactly the same list, with the ex-

ception that instead of Fecir we have Feth, instead of Ru we have Ero, instead of Iup we have Uip, instead of Grid we have Grith, and instead of Mund we have Muin.

Although Brude is here stated to have thirty sons, yet, on giving their names, it appears to be a mistake for twenty-eight, which is the true number, as the Book of Ballymote has the same. This number, however, is again reduced to *fourteen*, as we find that every alternate name is merely the preceding one repeated, with the syllable "Ur" prefixed.

This then is a strictly analogous case to the former. It appears from Giraldus, that there were among the Picts *fourteen* persons styled "reges et reguli," who, from the state of society among them, must have been chiefs of tribes, and consequently the nation was divided into fourteen tribes, while we find a tradition, that a successor of the founder of the nation and king of the Picts had *fourteen* sons.

The tribes of the Caledonians or Picts, as they existed A.D. 121, are however preserved by Ptolemy. The exact number of these tribes cannot be ascertained from him, as he nowhere marks the distinction between the tribes of the Caledonians and those of the other Britons. They appear, however, to have been fourteen in number, for, north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which in the second century was certainly inhabited by the Caledonians or Picts alone, he places twelve tribes; the Damnonioi likewise

belonged to them, for that tribe is placed by Ptolemy partly north and partly south of these Firths, and the expression of Julius Capitolinus, in narrating the building of the wall of Antonine in A.D. 138, "submotis barbaris", implies that previous to that event a considerable number of the Caledonians dwelt south of the Firths; among these "submotis barbaris" we may probably likewise include the Novantai, as Tacitus draws a decided distinction between them and the neighbouring tribes, when he styles them, along with the Damnonioi "novas gentes."

This just makes up the number of fourteen; and it is a very remarkable circumstance, that in the names of these fourteen tribes, as given by Ptolemy, we actually find, with but one exception, the names of the fourteen sons of Brude given by the Pictish Chronicle. This will appear from the following Table, and as the names in the one list are Gaelic, and in the other Greek, it will be necessary to add to the former the forms they would assume by pronunciation, and the use of the aspirate in the oblique cases, which has the effect in Gaelic, as is well known, of sometimes changing the form of the letter, and sometimes rendering it silent[1].

[1] In old Gaelic, D and T are used for each other indiscriminately. By the aspirate used in the oblique cases, B and M become V, P becomes F, and T is silent. In ancient MSS. it is likewise difficult to distinguish T from C.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pant . . . | or . . . . | Phant . . . | No*vantai*[1]. |
| Leo . . . . . | | Leo . . . | *Lou*goi. |
| Gant . . | pronounced . . | Kant . . . | *Kant*eai. |
| Guith . . | pronounced . . | Kai . . . | *Kai*rinoi. |
| Feth . . . | or . . . . | Ped . . . | *Epid*ioi. |
| Cal . . . | or . . . . | Kal . . . | *Kal*edonioi. |
| Cuit . . . | or . . . . | Tuic . . . | *Taik*saloi. |
| Fec . . . . . | | Fec . . . | *Vak*omagoi. |
| Eru . . . . . | | Eru . . . | M*er*tai. |
| Gart[2] . . | pronounced . . | Kar . . . | *Kar*nones. |
| Cinid . . . . . | | Cinid . . . | Damnonioi. |
| Uip . . . | or . . . . | Uiph . . . | Kourn*aovioi*[3]. |
| Grith . . | pronounced . . | Kre . . . | *Kreo*nes. |
| in . . . | or . . . . | Vuin . . . | *Ven*ricontes. |

In comparing these names, it must be recollected that the Gaelic names are monosyllabic, while the Greek are not. But when, in fourteen Greek names, the *first* syllables of *ten* are found to be identic with the Gaelic, as well as the *second* syllables of *two*, and that there are *but two* which bear a doubtful or no similarity, the identity may be considered complete[4].

[1] *Na*, the Gaelic definite article, *Navantai*,—the Vantai.

[2] Tighernac mentions the Gens *Gartnaidh*, pronounced *Karnie*.

[3] *Corr* is the Gaelic for a corner, and hence a district "Corrn'aovioi" is the "district of the Aovioi", and Corr is singularly applicable to their situation in Caithness.

[4] The identification of the fourteen tribes with the fourteen sons of Brude may perhaps be considered visionary, but its accuracy does not in any way affect the argument regarding the constitution of the Pictish monarchy.

We thus see that the Pictish nation was a confederacy of fourteen tribes, the chiefs of seven of which were considered of superior rank to the others, and that these fourteen tribes were grouped into seven provinces, in each of which one of the seven superior chiefs ruled. This exhibits a system exactly analogous to that which existed, as appears from Cæsar and others, in Gaul, where several of the tribes were dependent upon others more powerful than themselves. It has been fully shewn in this Work, that the northern tribes remained in very much the same state, down to the introduction of the Saxon laws, in the reign of Edgar; that the maormors or chiefs of these tribes assumed the title of earl, and that the territories of the tribes are exactly the same with the earldoms into which the north of Scotland was afterwards divided. We are thus enabled, by comparing the tribes as given by Ptolemy with the subsequent earldoms and the seven provinces contained in Giraldus, to ascertain the exact local system of the Pictish kingdom. This will appear from the following Table.

| Nations. | Provinces. | Tribes. | Earldoms. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Southern Picts | Fiv | Cinid | Fife. |
| | Fortren | Phant | Stratherne. |
| | Circi | Vuin | Angus. |
| Northern Picts | Fidach | Fec | Marr. |
| | | Tuic | Buchan. |
| | Ce | Kant | Moray. |
| | | Kar | Ross. |
| | Fotla | Kal | Atholl. |
| | | Kre | Garmorin. |
| | Cait | Leo, Ero, Kai, Uiph | Fell into the possession of the Norwegians, A.D. 925. |
| | | Ped | Destroyed by Dalriads. |

From this Table it will be observed, that the Southern Picts consisted of but three of the fourteen tribes, while their territories comprised three of the seven provinces. It would appear then that the system of dependent tribes was confined to the Northern Picts, and this circumstance will, in some degree, explain the origin of the seven provinces.

It has been fully shewn in the previous part of the Work, that the Pictish monarchy was an elective one, and that the king of the Picts was chosen from among the chiefs of the tribes[1]. Adomnan mentions the existence of a senatus among the Picts. This senatus then must have been the constitutional body

[1] Part I. Chap. II.

by whom the Pictish monarch was elected, or his right to the Pictish throne judged of; and it is equally clear that it must originally have been formed out of the chiefs of these tribes; but while the Southern Picts consisted of three great tribes only, the nature of the country, and other causes incidental to mountain districts, had caused the division of the Northern Picts into a much greater number. Although these tribes were probably originally independent of each other, yet in a representation of the nation by the heads of its tribes, it was absolutely necessary that the one division of the nation should not have too great a preponderance over the other, in numbers and extent of territory equally powerful; and in this way, I think, arose the arrangement of the tribes of the Northern Picts into four provinces, in each of which one tribe alone, and probably the most powerful, was selected to form a part of the national council, and to which tribes the others would soon become dependent. The division of the nation into seven provinces was then a political institution, whose origin is unknown, for the purpose of preserving the balance between the two great branches of the Picts, whose habits of life, and the nature of their country, rendered their interests very different; and the seven great chiefs, by whom the seven provinces were represented, alone had a voice in the senatus of the nation, and constituted the electors of the Pictish monarch, and the judges of his

right to the throne, when the principle of succession was introduced[1].

Such then was the constitution of the Pictish monarchy previous to the Scottish conquest: let us now see what effect that event produced upon the system. Subsequent to this event, we have strong reason for thinking that some representation of the Pictish nation as separate and distinct from the Scots still continued, for in the reign of Donald, the successor of Kenneth Mac Alpin, we find a solemn contract entered into between the Goedili on the one hand, and the king of the Scots on the other, by which the laws and customs of the Dalriadic Scots were introduced, including of course the rule of hereditary succession to the throne.

The second list of the seven provinces contained in Giraldus, applies unquestionably to some period subsequent to the Scottish conquest. The principal variation between this list and the previous one, is the addition of Argyll as a province, and the omission of Caithness. The former would be produced by

[1] The seven provinces of the Picts, and the seven great chiefs who presided over them, are plainly alluded to in the following passages in the old accounts of the foundation of St. Andrew's:—

"Die autem postero Picti, ex sponsione Apostoli letificati, prœlium pararunt; et diviso exercitu, circa regem suum *septem agmina* statuerunt."—Pinkerton, App. No. 7.

"Altero autem die, evenit regi prædicto, *cum septem comitibus* amicissimis, ambulare."—Pinkerton, App. No. 12.

the union of the Dalriadic territories to those of the Picts; the latter by the acquisition of Caithness by the Norwegians. The six years' forcible occupation of the district by Thorstein in the end of the ninth century would not be sufficient to exclude it from among the provinces, for that pirate king likewise possessed Moray and Ross, which certainly continued as a Scottish province; and it is apparent from this fact that no conquest would be sufficient to account for the omission of one of the provinces. It must be recollected, however, that Caithness was in the possession of the Norwegian Earl of Orkney in the tenth century, when no conquest whatever of that district is recorded, and the fact that one of the previous earls of Orkney is stated by the Sagas to have married the daughter of Duncan, Jarl or Maormor of Caithness, affords a strong presumption that he acquired that district by succession. The entire separation of Caithness from Scotland, and its annexation to the Norwegian possessions as an integral part, will appear from a curious document printed by Sir Francis Palgrave in his valuable work on the Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. This document, in giving a description of Danelaghe, mentions that it included "Albania tota quæ modo Scotia vocatur, et Morovia *usque ad Norwegiam* et *usque Daciam*, scilicet, *Kathenesia*, Orkaneya, Enthegal (Inchegall or the Hebrides) et Man,"[1] &c.

[1] Vol. I. p. 572.

The succession of the earl of Orkney to Caithness, therefore, caused the dismemberment of that district from Scotland, and that event took place, as appears from the Sagas, about the year 925, from which period Caithness must have ceased to form one of the seven provinces of Scotland. The only other variation which we discover, is, that a part of the province of Fife appears afterwards, under the name of Fortreve, which was previously the name of the province consisting of Stratherne and Menteth. From this it is plain that the Scots actually colonized the latter province, and that the remnant of the Pictish tribe which had possessed it, took refuge in the neighbouring province of Fife, to a part of which they gave their name, and where they remained, as well as the relics of the tribe of Fife, entire under a dominant Scottish population. The province of Angus seems to have continued under its Pictish chief as a tributary province, the Pictish Chronicle frequently recording the death of the *Maormor* of Angus, a title peculiar to the Picts, along with that of the kings of Scotland.

The new arrangement, then, of the seven provinces, by which Argyll became a province in place of Caithness, could not have taken place prior to the year 925, while previous to that date, and subsequent to the Scottish conquest, we find that the representation of the Picts as a nation by their Senatus, still continued. The preservation of the system of the seven provinces, taken in connexion

with these facts, thus proves that the Scots were incorporated into the Pictish system, and that the provinces of the Northern Picts were preserved entire, while the Scots came in place of the Southern Picts, of whom alone probably the Maormor of Angus retained a voice in the national council.

Such then was the constitution of the Scottish monarchy established on the overthrow of the Southern Picts, and adopting the constitutional form of the conquered kingdom; preserving, until the introduction of the Saxon laws in the twelfth century, the national council of seven great chiefs, by whom the right of the king to the throne was judged, under the hereditary kings of Scottish lineage, who filled the throne of the united nation, and thus gave the name of Scot and Scotia, formerly confined to the tribe from which they took their origin, to the whole country which submitted to their rule.

We shall now examine what effect the formation of the Scoto-Saxon monarchy under Edgar, produced upon this constitutional body. We have seen that, down to the introduction of the Saxon laws into the country, the tribes of Scotland existed under the rule of their hereditary Maormors or chiefs, and that, wherever the old population remained, these Maormors adopted the Saxon title of Earl. As this was the highest title of honour among the Saxons, it is plain that there would now be no distinction in title between the chiefs of the superior and those of the subordinate tribes; and the whole

of these earls indiscriminately, along with the other earls created by the Scoto-Saxon kings, and the crown vassals or thanes, would now form the "communitas regni," which constituted the parliament of all Teutonic nations. Notwithstanding this, however, as the seven great chiefs by whom the seven provinces of Scotland were represented, still existed, although they merely enjoyed the title of Earl in common with the other chiefs, it is not unlikely that we should find them retaining the shadow of this ancient national council co-existent with, and independent of, the great parliament of the nation, and claiming the privileges of the constitutional body of which their ancestors formed the members; that, besides the parliament or communitas regni, which included the whole of the earls, with the other crown vassals, we should find *seven* of the Earls claiming and exercising the privileges of the body which they represented; and that they would yield with reluctance their position as a representation of the *seven provinces of Scotland.*

Of the exercise of this right, however, an instance appears to have occurred even as late as the reign of Malcolm IV. On the death of David I., whose right to the throne had not been disputed by any of the factions into which Scotland was divided, the claims of his grandson Malcolm were disputed by William, commonly called the Boy of Egremont, the great-grandson of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, by his eldest son Duncan, likewise king of

Scotland, and he was supported by the Gaelic part of the population.

The Orkneyinga Saga states that "Ingibiorg Iarls-moder (earl's mother) married Malcolm, king of Scotland, who was called Langhals (Canmore); their son was Duncan, king of Scotland, the father of William; he was a good man; his son was William Odlinger (the noble), *whom all the Scots wished to have for their king.*"[1]

The nation, therefore, in some way expressed a desire to have the Boy of Egremont for their king; and that this expression of the desire of the nation was made by the *seven earls*, appears from the following passages. In 1160, the Chronicle of Melrose mentions the following event:—"Malcolmus Rex Scotorum venit de exercitu Tolosæ, cumque venisset in civitatem quæ dicitur Pert, *Fereteatht comes et* v. *alii comites*, irati contra regem quia perrexit Tolosam, obsederunt civitatem et regem capere voluerunt; sed præsumtio illorum minime prævaluit." This attack by the earls was made in favour of the Boy of Egremont, for Winton mentions him as being among the conspirators as well as Gilleandres, Earl of Ross; and the fact that, while Winton assures us that the Boy of Egremont and the Earl of Ross were present, the Chronicle of Melrose does not include either among the six earls, shews very clearly that these six earls were acting in some public capacity peculiar to them.

[1] Orkneyinga Saga, p. 90.

The following passage in Bower shews equally clearly, however, that the demonstration made by the six earls was the event alluded to by the Saga, when it says, " whom all the Scots wished to have for their king."

" Videntes denique Scotorum proceres nimiam sui regis familiaritatem cum Anglorum rege Henrico et amicitiam, turbati sunt valde, et omnis Scotia cum illis. Timuerunt enim ne sua familiaritas opprobrium illis pararet et contemptum : quod omni studio præcavere conantes, *miserunt legationem post eum, dicentes; nolumus hunc regnare super nos.* Propterea reversus ab exercitu de Tholosa, Scotiam adveniens, propter diversas causarum exigentias, auctoritate regia prælatos jubet et proceres apud burgum regium de Perth convenire. Concitatis interim regni *majoribus, sex comites, Ferchard, scilicet, Comes de Strathern et alii quinque,* adversus regem, non utique pro singulari commodo seu proditiosa conspiratione, immo reipublicæ tuitione commoti, ipsum capere nisi sunt, quem infra turrim ejusdem urbis obsederunt. Cassato pro tunc eorum, Deo disponente, conatu, non multis postmodum diebus evolutis, clero consulente, cum suis optimatibus ad concordiam revocatus est."[1]

[1] Fordun, B. VIII. c. 4. This view of the conspiracy in 1160 suggested itself to me on seeing a notice of Sir F. Palgrave's singular discovery, as until then I did not perceive that the institution of the seven provinces had survived the establishment of the Scoto-Saxon monarchy.

It appears, then, that a portion of the earls were considered as representing the greater part of the nation; and we thus trace, as late as the twelfth century, the existence of a constitutional body, whose origin is lost in the earliest dawn of Pictish history, while the incorporation and preservation of the Northern Picts, as a distinct portion of the nation, afterwards termed the Scots, becomes undoubted.

END OF VOL. I.

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